information bulletin

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

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information bulletin

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OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKERS' PARTY

information bulletin

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CONTENTS

Page

Władysław Gomułka
Address Delivered at the Central Harvest Festival in Warsaw 7

Władysław Gomułka
Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Warsaw Inhabitants with the Party and Government Delegation of the German Democratic Republic 26

Zenon Kliszko
Address at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party 49

The Differences Between the Leadership of the CPC and the International Communist Movement . . . 67

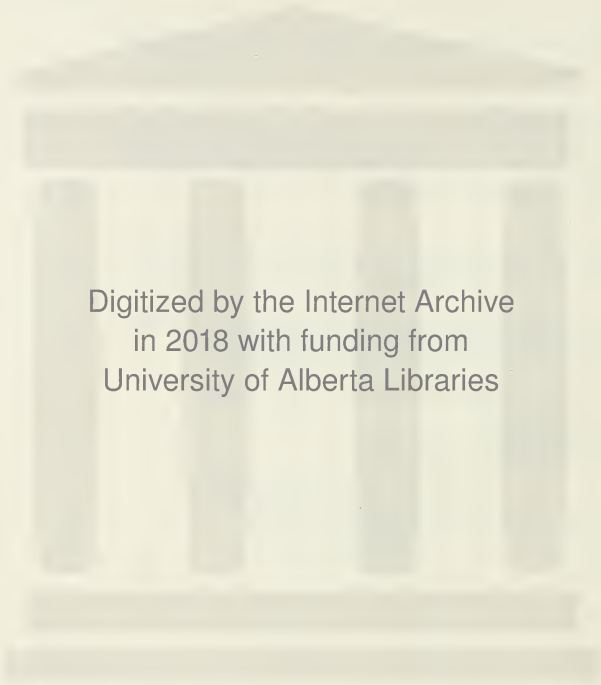
EXPERIENCES OF PARTY WORK

Antoni Gańczarczyk
The Advantages of Team Work 97

MATERIALS AND DOCUMENTS

Telegram to Comrade Benjamin J. Davis . . . 102

Chronicle 103



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WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA
First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CENTRAL HARVEST FESTIVAL IN WARSAW

SEPTEMBER 8, 1963

Brother Peasants and Agricultural Workers,
Comrades and Citizens,

In the traditional custom of People's Poland we have gathered in the capital of our country at the national harvest festival to pay homage to the toil and great endeavours of all who work in agriculture, to estimate the fruits of that work and to mobilize all our efforts and means to ensure better crops in the new fiscal year in agriculture.

On the occasion of our national harvest celebrations I want to convey, on behalf of the leaderships of the Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasant Party, on behalf of the Council of State and the Government of the Polish People's Republic, cordial greetings and thanks to individual farmers and those associated in cooperative farms, to the employees of State Farms and to all agricultural workers. I also thank those who, during this year's hot summer, when field work was at its peak, hastened to help the farmers gather their crops without losses.

We are as yet unable to determine more closely the indices of this year's plant production of our agriculture, and especially as regards the potato and beet crops which may considerably improve during September and October if weather



WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA ACCEPTS THE SYMBOLICAL LOAF OF BREAD DURING THE HARVEST FESTIVAL

conditions are favourable. We are all, however, aware that the current year is the second consecutive year of poor crops in farming and horticulture. Only the early vegetables and early potatoes, as well as other horticultural crops were sufficiently abundant this year.

Spring and summer of last year were characterized by keenly felt cold weather, slight frosts and excessive rains which were especially bad for the grains and root plants. As a result there was a considerable drop in the number of pigs raised and in the purchases of live hogs for meat. As indicated in the in-

ventory of this June there was a decline of 14.4 per cent in the herds of pigs, that is, some 2 million less than in June of last year. During the first seven months of this year the purchases of live hogs were 100,000 tons less than for the same period last year. This decrease was covered in part by larger purchases of beef, with a simultaneous 2.6 per cent (250,000 head) increase in the number of cattle during the current year. In terms of meat the purchases of all livestock for slaughter during the first seven months of this year were lower by some 12 per cent than for the same period last year. On the other hand, the supplies of meat to the market in that period declined by only 2.6 per cent, while supplies of animal fat increased by 8.7 per cent and of vegetable fat by 22 per cent.

In order to prevent greater reductions in supplying the market with meat in view of the big drop in the purchases of livestock for slaughter, it was necessary not only to cancel the planned export of livestock and meat, but also to import 45,000 tons of meat, including 30,000 tons from the Soviet Union in the form of a loan to be returned in the first quarter of next year. The effects of last year's poor crops also had a bearing on the export of other agricultural and food products, which as a whole considerably aggravated our foreign trade balance.

This year weather conditions were also unfavourable to agriculture. The extremely severe and long winter caused much harm to horticulture and the winter crops, particularly to rape. Though somewhat late, spring was more favourable to farming. The first harvesting of the meadows was better than last year and good conditions for drying the grass contributed to increasing the nutritive value of hay. The very hot summer and lack of rains, however, caused painful losses to our agriculture. The long drought, the worst in many years, was most acutely felt in the central agricultural belt. It struck

the most productive provinces such as Poznań and Bydgoszcz. It greatly reduced the volume of the second harvest of hay and green fodder and affected adversely the state of the root plants and the autumn sowing of after-crops. The grain crops, somewhat better than last year, compensate in part the losses caused by the drought.

On the basis of the first results of threshing it is estimated that the average yield of the four grains will be 16.6 to 16.8 quintals (metric hundredweight) per hectare, whereas last year we had about 16 quintals per hectare. Better grain crops have been obtained this year in the provinces of Warsaw, Łódź, Kielce, Lublin and Białystok where last year the harvests were very poor and where there was the largest drop in the number of pigs. In other provinces the yields of the four cereals are on the level of last year, or somewhat lower in a number of the provinces. In all, this year's total agricultural production, both in plant cultivation and in stockbreeding, not only fails to exceed the low level of last year, but may even be lower, depending on the potato and sugar beet harvest.

We are seriously concerned about this. The effects of two consecutive years unfavourable to agriculture have a bearing on the entire national economy, on market supplies for the population, and lower the income of the farmers. They make it necessary to increase the very costly imports of grain and fodder, while our own agricultural and food exports are reduced. This, in turn, limits the possibilities for importing raw materials and other goods necessary for industrial production and development of the entire national economy.

Our stocks of bulk feed will probably make it impossible to increase the number of livestock raised during the year of 1963-1964. The most important task that now faces all farmers is to make the fullest use of all possibilities to amass the largest possible stocks of dry bulk feed and silage and to

apply the most rational methods of animal feeding. In the provinces which have better crops of grain than last year there exist conditions for increasing the number of pigs raised, with less help in fodder by the State, and in the provinces which have worse crops we intend to increase the supplies of concentrates in order to prevent a further drop in the number of pigs and, at the least, to maintain the present number of cattle throughout the country. Pig and cattle breeders may be sure that the State will do everything our economy permits to expand assistance in supplying fodder and to prevent a drop in the number of livestock in our entire agriculture.

During the current fiscal year we intend to increase supplies of power feed by 200,000 tons as compared with last year, that is, up to 2 million tons and, in this, supplies of protein-rich fodder will increase by 15 per cent. For every fattened pig contracted and delivered the breeders will be able to buy from the State a definite quantity of fodder, on the average 100 kilograms per animal, and receive an advance supply of fodder at the time of signing the contract. The quantity norms of fodder allocations will vary, depending on the farmer's own fodder resources: in some regions of the country these norms will be more than 100 kilograms per fattened pig, in other regions, less. Moreover, breeders will be guaranteed additional fodder supplies for the maintenance af sows, gilts reared, boars, rams and bulls.

Along with the sale of concentrates for the fattening of pigs contracted, the State will make it possible for breeders to make large-scale purchases of protein-rich industrial feeds on convenient exchange conditions for grain. This exchange was started in March of this year in four provinces. It is in the interest of every stockbreeder to exchange grain for industrial fodder which contains more protein and other nutritive ingredients than grain. The use of grain for fodder is contrary to

reason, it requires more food units for every kilogram gained in weight than do industrial fodders. The grain fed to pigs contains about 7 per cent protein. Rational feeding of swine calls for 9 to 11 per cent overall content of protein in all the fodder given. The use of fodder mashes sold by the State which contain 13 to 16 per cent protein makes it possible to increase the protein content of all the fodder used by farmers to a level approaching standards of rational feeding. The ratio at which grain is exchanged for industrial fodder is very favourable to the breeder. For 100 kg. of rye or barley the stockbreeder receives 85 kg. of bacon pig mashes, or 90 kg. of swine mashes, or 80 kg. of poultry mashes. The ratio of exchange for wheat is even more favourable, for it comes to 100 kg. of bacon pig or poultry mashes, or 105 kg. of swine mashes for every 100 kg. of grain. The exchange of grain for protein-rich industrial fodder, started this year, will be increased and expanded by us with every coming year. For there are great possibilities in the rational feeding of livestock to increase the herds, to make better use of the fodder concentrates through an exchange for more valuable industrial fodders.

In addition to greater assistance in fodder on the part of the State we have decided to make the prices for pigs purchased uniform throughout the country, that is, as of October 15 to abolish the lower price zone which exists in the provinces of Warsaw, Łódź, Kielce and Lublin, and in parts of the provinces of Białystok, Rzeszów and Cracow. This means that in these provinces the purchase price for pigs will be raised by 1 zloty per kilogram for the meat-and-fat porkers and by 50 groszy for meat porkers, that is, the price will be the same in these regions as in the remaining provinces of the country. As of October 15 the price-list for pigs purchased will therefore be uniform throughout the country. We will merely maintain the different prices for bacon pigs, meat porkers

and meat-and-fat porkers, as well as the higher prices paid for pigs bought in summer and lower for those bought in the winter months. The uniform prices for live pigs will increase the income of the breeders in the provinces where the higher price-list prevails, by some 350 million zlotys a year.

Both the increased assistance in fodder and the levelling upwards of the prices for pigs should contribute to increasing the number of pigs raised and contracted, and should encourage breeders to increase the number of sows and suckling pigs they raise.

I have aready mentioned the fact that despite the poor crops last year the number of cattle increased by 250,000 head, whereof 50,000 were cows. According to the June inventory there were 9,841,000 head of cattle, whereof 6,070,000 were cows. This is a favourable development. One of the most important tasks of agriculture in the current year is to maintain the number of cattle, and especially of cows, on the present level and to increase it wherever fodder supplies permit.

The urban population needs increasing quantities of milk and dairy products. And in this field developments are unfavourable. During the past three years the number of cows increased by 155,000 whereas milk purchases show a tendency to drop. In 1961 milk cooperatives bought 3,864 million litres of milk, in 1964 — 24 million litres less, and between January and August 15 of this year milk purchases were lower by 219 million litres than during the same period last year. Simultaneously the sale of milk for consumption in towns increased by some tens of millions of litres. The lower purchases, and increased consumption of milk resulted in a lower production of butter, cheese and lower supplies of cream on the market. In this connection we had to reduce considerably the planned

export of butter in order to satisfy, insofar as possible, the requirements of the home market.

What is the reason for the drop in milk purchases with the simultaneous increase in the number of cows?

This year the drop in milk purchases is chiefly bound up with the lack of rain and the long drought which dried up the pastures and hampered the growth of fodder plants, this in consequence lowering the milk yield of the cows. This June, milk purchases reached the level of last June, but already in July they dropped to but 90 per cent and in the 15 days of August, to 82.6 per cent of last year's purchases, for the same periods. The recent rains markedly improved the state of pastures and plant vegetation, and this should serve to increase milk purchases.

Another reason for the tendency of milk purchases to drop is the relatively slightly lower profitability of cow breeding as compared with other agricultural production. The purchase price of milk has for many years remained on the same level, whereas the purchase price for other farm produce rose. In this situation, although the State adds about 45 groszy to the price of each litre of milk for consumption, in concern for the further development of cattle raising and for increasing the production and purchases of milk, we have decided, as of October 1, to raise the price paid for milk on the average by 25 groszy per litre, that is, by some 11 per cent. This higher price will increase the income of the cow breeders by some 1,000 million zlotys a year.

In addition we will increase assistance in fodder to cattle breeders who will receive additional fodder allocations for the milk delivered. The reductions in quota deliveries for raising young heifers and heifers, will be maintained in the Western Territories, for cooperative farms and for members of water and land improvement brigades throughout the country.

The increased assistance in fodder, equalization of the purchase prices for live pigs and the higher price for milk, all represent a great effort on the part of the State to increase stockbreeding and the production of marketable agricultural produce. This effort should be coupled with greater endeavours of all peasants, agricultural workers and State Farm employees, agronomic services, Agricultural Circles, cooperative farms and other rural organizations to make the fullest use of all fodder resources, to amass a sufficient supply of fodder for late autumn, winter and early spring so that the herds of livestock in our country should increase and not diminish. These efforts must be accompanied by the best possible performance of the autumn field work and sowing; the maximum area must be sown with winter after-crops so that a rise in agricultural production, so needed by the country, may be achieved next year.

In line with our policy of intensification of agriculture and higher farming culture, in the coming year the State will supply farmers with more means of production, chemical fertilizers, machinery and implements, more high-quality seeds and animals for reproduction, as well as expanded expert consultation.

For the 1964 harvest the farmers will receive 1,013,000 tons (pure content) of chemical fertilizers, i.e, 10 per cent more than for this year's crops. The supplies of plant protection agents will be 14 per cent higher and come to 75,000 tons. The supplies of high-quality grain seed will be increased by 26 per cent and come to 590,000 tons. The supplies of select potato seedlings will also be increased.

Our agriculture will also receive much more mechanical equipment than last year. Next year we intend to supply 25,000 tractors, over 1,000 highly efficient grain combines, 9,500 tractor diggers, 5,000 tractor mowers and numerous

horse-drawn machines needed on peasant farmsteads. Land improvement to cost over 3,000 million zlotys will be carried out on 157,000 hectares of arable land and close to 150,000 hectares of meadows and pastures.

In the coming year the technical base of the Agricultural Circles, and especially of the branches of State Machine Centres for the servicing of tractors and machinery, will be developed. We have assigned for this purpose two and a half times more money than this year.

The State will support to the utmost every economic initiative of the farmers, every building scheme and useful civic enterprise. In 1964 rural districts will receive 20 per cent more cement than this year (1,850,000 tons); 12 per cent more wall material (1,840 million ceramic units); 10 per cent more building lime (640,000 tons) and considerable other building materials. This assistance in building material will be supported by credits for building amounting to almost 3,000 million zlotys, thus in this instance too, much more than this year. Credits for the production needs of farming will also be increased.

State Farms will receive more machinery and equipment, more farm buildings than last year and the necessary means for the proper development, by 1965, of 200,000 hectares of land taken over from the State Land Fund.

Expanded services for agriculture will help the peasant in the most troublesome work such as soil liming, spraying with ammonia water, maintenance of meadows and pastures, drying and mixing of fodder, etc., as well as the work designed to ensure better water supplies to rural areas.

Total state investment expenditures in agriculture will be 30 per cent higher and come to some 13,000 million zlotys.

All these additional material and financial outlays of the

State for agriculture, along with more substantial help on the part of the agronomic and veterinary services, were recommended in the resolution of the 12th Plenum of the CC of the PUWP adopted at the beginning of this year.

We are determined to implement these resolutions, to expand and modernize our fodder base in the next few years, to endow the village with new technology and raise farming culture so that our agriculture, which after industry is the second basic branch of the national economy, can fully satisfy the needs of the country.

Guided constantly by the immutable principle of the worker-peasant alliance the people's authorities give increasing assistance to the countryside both in developing production and in improving living conditions and culture. The many thousands of millions of zlotys assigned by the State each year for agriculture have been produced chiefly by our Socialist enterprises, by the working class. We are building a Socialist Poland by the joint forces of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the joint toil of the working people of town and country. And we have the right to expect that the farmers, in the interest of the country and their own, will fulfil all their obligations to the State — quota deliveries and taxes — and that they will spare no efforts to make the best use of existing reserves for raising agricultural production.

Practically every farmstead, every village, every State Farm could derive higher yields from a hectare of land, and thus: more fodder, higher animal production, more marketable produce and, therefore, a higher income, if better agrotechnical methods were applied, the structure of sowing improved and the assistance of the State rationally used.

The area under cultivation of the more valuable and high-yield grains such as wheat and barley should be boldly expanded. It is not the first time that we make this appeal, and

those who have heard it have benefitted; the areas under wheat and barley increased this year by 236,000 hectares. The average yield of wheat last year and this year was 3 to 5 quintals higher than the average yield of rye.

On the other hand, those who, despite the needs of the country and their own interests, increased the cultivation of oats cannot boast of good results.

The experience of this year in many areas shows the merits of the Polish varieties of wheat, such as *Żelazna, Olza, Małgorzatka* and others. As a rule, they yielded over 25 quintals per hectare and in many instances where the fields were properly fertilized, 40 to 50 quintals were obtained per hectare.

The present contracting of wheat, based on these high-yielding varieties, at a higher price, and with additional quantities of chemical fertilizers and plant protection agents (made available to contracting farmers), open before many farmers the opportunity to obtain high yields and abundant harvests. We expect that many farmers will take advantage of this opportunity and will contract for the delivery of wheat.

The need to increase the cultivation of leguminous and papilionaceous plants, especially of lucerne and clover, is a matter of importance which I want to call to your attention. The total area under this cultivation increased during the year by 190,000 hectares, but we should continue to energetically expand it as an effective means for increasing the stocks of protein.

A task of especial importance is to increase the area under sugar beets to 445,000 hectares. Disregarding the fact that the sugar beet is a higly profitable plant and a source of valuable fodder, that it is an important factor in crop rotation, some of the planters, this year, reduced the acreage of their beet plantations, to their own and the country's loss. The state has supported, and will continue to support, the cultivation of

sugar beets. A special resolution of the government, on July 31, 1963, still further improved the conditions of beet contracting and assured higher incomes to the planters. The network of beet purchase stations will be expanded, rates for the delivery of sugar beets will be raised, more beet pulp will be turned over to the planters free of charge, better terms of advance payments will be introduced, etc. In all, some 315 million zlotys will be spent next year for the benefit of the planters.

The current year, more than any previous year, shows the need to expand the cultivation of protein-rich plants, to sow more after-crops, to cultivate meadows, to maintain land improvement equipment in good condition, to stock ensilage and apply rational methods of feeding livestock. It is the duty of the agronomic service to propagate among the farmers proper methods of ensilaging fodder and rational use of bulk feed in feeding the livestock.

Reducing the excessive number of horses in many a village would contribute to improving stock raising conditions. That would be useful where a tractor can already today effectively replace animal traction and the Agricultural Circle has sufficient equipment and well-organized field work, as well as in many villages and on many farms, especially in the southern regions of the country where the farmsteads have been split up into small holdings and horses are kept not because of real need, but because of old traditions and habits, though they often work on the farm only several weeks a year.

Obsolete and poorly productive methods of farming, irrational methods of soil utilization and stockbreeding, these are among the chief reasons for the insufficient productivity of our agriculture. Progressive farmers know how to make use of the assistance of the State, of the advice of our agronomic service, of new technology; they develop, improve

and modernize their farms. However, in practically every village there is no lack of farmers who keep a tight hold on old traditions of farming, who close their ears to the appeals of the people's authorities and the advice of agronomists; they often work hard, but with little effect. They themselves and the whole society are the losers thereby. It is simply a waste for the State to make available to such farmers assistance in the form of chemical fertilizers, protein-rich fodders, etc., when they do not renew the seeds, neglect to fight weeds and plant diseases, do not cultivate their meadows and pastures, when they show little concern about after-crops, do not ensilage fodder. Modern means of production should, in the first place, be put into the hands of farmers who know how to make proper use of them, who enrich their stock of knowledge and apply rational, scientifically and practically tested, methods of cultivation and stock breeding.

Great tasks in the field of popularizing farming culture devolve upon the Agricultural Circles. The Second Congress of Agricultural Circles adopted a very important resolution in this connection, on the so-called "agro-minimum." This agro-minimum is a schedule of rational methods of farming binding upon a given village, which should be applied on every farm. It should embrace measures that have been tested and are obligatory throughout the country, such as: shallow ploughing, renewal of seeds, fighting of weeds, ensilage of fodder, etc., and at the same time measures adapted to conditions of a given village and locally tested by the most experienced and productive farmers. The initiative to fix the agro-minimum rests with the Agricultural Circle and local agronomist. The agro-minimum should be fully substantiated and announced at a general meeting to the farmers in the given village. It then should be incorporated into the winter schooling. However, by itself this schooling is not

enough. Agricultural Circles should see to it that rational farming methods are accurately implemented by its members and unaffiliated farmers. Sluggards should be spurred to activity, stubborn conservatives criticized, and leading farmers set up as an example. The Agricultural Circles should also give financial assistance to those farmers who, because of the lack of motive power or sufficient hands for work, find it difficult to carry out the measures included in the agro-minimum. General application on every farm of the measures and methods included in the agro-minimum should be the ambition of every Agricultural Circle and evidence of its fruitful activity. In this way the agro-minimum will open wide the door to the implementation of the plans of a rural community. The People's Councils should give all-round support in the realization of the agro-minimum and, first and foremost, help the farmes and villages which are implementing these rational principles of farming and are able to make proper use of the assistance of the State. The decisions of the Councils as regards reduction in quota deliveries, credits, electrification, land improvement, road building and water supplies should be conditioned on implementation of the agro-minimum. No help should be given to him who does not want to help himself.

The universal implementation of the agro-minimum with the help of the Agricultural Circles will bring benefits to the entire agriculture and to the country; it should better protect us from caprices of the weather and ensure more rapid progress of the Polish countryside.

Despite two consecutive years of poor crops we have no reason to lose faith in prospects of the further marked development of our agricultural economy. These prospects are fully concrete. The present difficulties are transient, whereas the growth of the productive forces of agriculture, of its

technical and industrial base, especially that which has taken place in recent years, is permanent. Agrotechnical progress, the great stride forward in the seed economy, in fertilization, in plant protection, are permanent. The achievements of the State Farms, State Machine Centres and Agricultural Circles as organizers of the collective production effort of the peasants and of progress in the countryside, are permanent. There is no doubt whatever that were it not for these permanent factors, the losses caused by unfavourable weather conditions would have been much greater. The permanent gains achieved by our agriculture until now will increase with each year, opening up, in this way, new possibilities for raising agricultural production.

Citizens,

The current year, which was unfavourable to agriculture not only in our country but in many other countries as well, has brought to us and to all mankind somewhat warmer weather in the international atmosphere. Chances for maintaining peace throughout the world seem to grow. As a result of the long struggle of the Socialist countries and of all defenders of peace for banning weapons of mass destruction, for universal disarmament, a first step has been taken in that direction — an agreement has been concluded to ban nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space.

The Polish people, together with all the nations of the world, express their deep satisfaction because of this. At the same time we hope that the agreement recently concluded in Moscow is a harbinger of times to come when the world will enter the road of disarmament and when our idea of peaceful coexistence will form the foundation of the policies of all countries. The Moscow Agreement has also a humanitarian aspect: it removes the danger of further contaminating the

atmosphere with death-bearing dust emitted during test explosions of nuclear weapons in the air.

Everyone, therefore, who desires peace, who is aware of the destructive effects of rocket and nuclear weapons, has received the Moscow Agreement as a sober act of far-reaching importance on the part of the heads of the powers which possess nuclear weapons. Poland was one of the first among the countries which have adhered to this agreement and, today there are already 88 such countries.

Against the Moscow Agreement are only those who want the proliferation of nuclear weapons, who want the tension and "cold war" to continue, who do not believe in the possibility of preventing nuclear war, in the possibility of the Socialist countries and the peoples of the world to defend peace; or those whose policy is intended to unleash a new world war. Blinded by anti-Communism the representatives of the most aggressive circles in the United States and in West Germany are opposed to the Moscow Agreement. The de Gaulle government, against the wishes of the French people, also refuses to adhere to the agreement.

We are not surprised at this hostile attitude towards the Moscow Agreement on the part of the various imperialistic adventurers who live in the days of the past when imperialism determined if there will be war or peace. Those days are gone forever. Today, the Socialist and peace forces of the world have gained the upper hand over the forces of imperialism and war and have created a situation in which a new world war is no longer inevitable. The Moscow Agreement is a reflection of this.

But we are indeed surprised and filled with bitterness at the attitude of the government of the People's Republic of China which has taken a negative stand with regard to the

Moscow Agreement on banning nuclear tests and for this reason attacks the Soviet Union, slanders it and attempts to present its policy in a false light. The leaders of People's China apparently do not link the security of their country with the unity and fraternal alliance of the countries of the Socialist camp. Instead, blinded by the desire to possess their own nuclear weapons, they undermine the international Communist movement. In this way they do a service to the enemies of Socialism and to the war mongers. Our Party, the Polish people, look upon the Chinese people as their friend and ally in the struggle for peace and the victorious construction of Socialism. However, we cannot reconcile ourselves with the present policy of the Party and government leaders of the People's Republic of China and their attitude to the Moscow Agreement. They have entered the wrong road, a road harmful to the cause of the victory of Socialism and peace in the world and to the best interests of their own country and people.

Together with the fraternal Soviet Union and with other Socialist countries, with all the forces of peace we will continue to fight for the liquidation of the "cold war" and a further easing of international tension, for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the countries of the Warsaw Agreement and the North Atlantic bloc, for the solution of the German problem on the basis of the recognition of the fact that there are two German states, for the creation of an atom-free zone in Europe, for the complete prohibition and scrapping of weapons of mass destruction. We will clear the way for the great work of total and universal disarmament in order to ensure peace in the world. The policy of the Polish People's Republic and all the activity of all our political parties linked together in the National Unity Front, serve these aims. Our work, our daily toil in the work enterprises and on the soil,

our defence power, our united will to build the prosperity and might of our country, all serve this cause.

I wish you favourable sowing and good crops in the coming year.

Long live the worker-peasant alliance!

Long live and flourish People's Poland!

Long live peace the world over!

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA
First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF WARSAW INHABITANTS WITH THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SEPTEMBER 30, 1963

Dear Comrade Ulbricht,
Dear German Comrades and Friends,

We are meeting today at this large gathering of representatives of the working class and the population of Warsaw to mark the conclusion of your pleasant and useful visit in our country. The people of our capital, like the whole Polish nation, value highly the friendly visit of the Party and Government delegation of the peaceful state of the German workers and peasants — the German Democratic Republic — headed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party and the Chairman of the State Council, Comrade Walter Ulbricht. We value highly your visit, dear German comrades, because we value highly and respect the friends and allies of Poland.

The brotherly friendship between the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic and the defensive alliance binding our two countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact are today not only formalities arising out of the international agreements and treaties concluded by our states. The friendship and alliance between our two states deeply penetrated the minds and hearts of millions of Poles and Germans, changed their way of thinking, and became a thing

which is near and dear to the people of the two countries, a thing which is indispensable and natural.

The Polish Party and Government delegation, which a year ago visited the German Democratic Republic and which everywhere was given a hearty welcome by tens and hundreds of thousands of Germans, thus expressing their friendship towards the Polish nation, had a good occasion of being convinced of that.

The soldiers of the Polish Army who took part in the military exercises organized by the supreme command of the military forces of the Warsaw Pact on the territory of the German Democratic Republic also became convinced of that fact. Likewise, the Polish people gave a fraternal and hearty welcome to the Party and Government delegation of the German Democratic Republic during its stay in our country and visits to a number of cities and industrial enterprises. At to-day's gathering we once again welcome our dear guests, friends and comrades and, through them, send fraternal greetings to the workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia — to all working people of the German Democratic Republic. We are convinced that the present visit of our German friends will further tighten the bonds of brotherly friendship linking both countries and nations and will play an important role in broadening mutual economic and trade cooperation.

Each meeting with our neighbours from the other side of the Odra and the Nysa rivers gives the Polish people a new opportunity to get a picture of the far-reaching change effected by the German Communists with regard to the development of the German nation.

The creation and the consolidation of the German Democratic Republic is a historic event of great importance not only in the history of Germany. It also affected in a major way the European balance of political forces. The border of the Social-



THE DELEGATION IS GREETED ON THE STREETS OF WARSAW

ist camp has been shifted to the Elbe and Wera Rivers. Contrary to the expectations of the imperialist politicians not the whole of Germany but only the western part entered into the orbit of the cold war policy. In the front line of struggle against imperialism there is a considerable part of the German nation, which chose the road of peace and Socialism. The fact that, in spite of the many obstacles, subversion and pressure by West-German anti-Communist propaganda, in the part of Germany where Socialism triumphed there emerged thousands of active builders of the new society, organizers of Socialist production and culture, as well as mature and wise political leaders and

statesmen, is a great victory of Marxism-Leninism and confirms the optimistic belief of the Communists in the creative power of the working class and the toiling masses.

The history of the German Democratic Republic has confirmed the correctness of the views of those who always distinguished between Hitlerism and its lackeys on the one hand, and the German workers and peasants on the other; between the forces of militarism, war and genocide, and the forces of progress and peace in Germany, the vanguard of which have always been the German Communists.

Some bourgeois writers, politicians and government leaders in the West have often stated, and continue to state, that the policy of the government of the Polish People's Republic is characterized by "an anti-German complex," by "a complex of distrust" towards the Germans. Political statements of that sort are erroneous.

In reality there is no anti-German complex in our policy; besides, in the present situation of Poland there are no grounds for such a complex. Our policy with regard to the German question is based on distinguishing between the forces of progress, peace and Socialism, and the forces of retrogression imperialism and war. The former, embodied in, and symbolized by the German Democratic Republic, are our friends and brothers with whom everything binds us and nothing divides us. The latter, reborn with the aid of the Atlantic powers for the purpose of an anti-Communist crusade, are the forces of West-German militarism, whose aggressive character is reflected in the policy of the Bonn government — in the aim of overthrowing and swallowing the German Democratic Republic and of revenge against Poland and the other Socialist countries.

Our vigilance in regards to those forces stems both from our direct knowledge of the history of German imperialism, many



GOMUŁKA, ZAWADZKI AND CYRANKIEWICZ IN A FRIENDLY TALK WITH COMRADE ULBRICHT

pages of which have been written with a sea of Polish blood, and from the thorough knowledge of the political mechanism of the German Federal Republic. This vigilance is the legitimate right of our nation and the duty of the Polish government and, in effect, stems from the same source as the vigilance with regard to the same forces by the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist countries, the working class of France, Italy and other Western countries, and part of the people of the German Federal Republic who did not turn their backs on the lessons of their own history.

Not in Warsaw nor Moscow, but in Bonn is the source of the

cold war, of the poisoning of the political atmosphere in Europe, and of major obstacles to the lessening of international tension.

People's Poland, the German Democratic Republic, together with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have for years been conducting a tireless struggle against the imperialist forces of cold and hot war. The struggle and the endeavour of the Socialist countries to secure a lasting peace enjoy wide support of the masses of people the world over, and are also gaining the support of many governments of neutral countries.

As a result of this struggle the idea of the need for solving controversial international problems by peaceful means is making headway among the widest social circles in capitalist countries, including sections of the ruling circles. There is a growing conviction that peaceful coexistence of states is the only alternative if humanity is to be spared a thermonuclear catastrophe.

However, this does not mean that the most adventurous imperialist circles have already given up their genocidal plans.

The aggressive forces of militarism and cold war gathered around the reactionary banner of anti-Communism still possess considerable influence in the United States and some of the West-European countries. A particularly dangerous expression of this influence in the United States is the new increase of provocations, subversion and aggressive military preparations aimed at heroic Cuba. The Socialist camp defends and will continue to defend the cause of Cuba in line with the basic principles of peaceful coexistence — respect of the sovereignty of, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states, as an expression of solidarity with the forces of Socialism and progress in the world, for the sake of defending nations against the attempts of once again imposing upon them the colonial yoke or semi-colonial dependence, for the sake of defending peace against all attempts of return to the policy "from



WALTER ULBRICHT WITH POLISH WORKERS

positions of strength." We also think that it is high time that American intervention in South Vietnam comes to an end. The aggressive and militarist forces occupy a particularly important and dominant position in the German Federal Republic and one might say, an especially leading position among the forces of cold war and aggression on an international scale.

Continuous subversion in regards to the German Democratic Republic, endless campaigns for the revision of frontiers and vicious anti-Communism are one aspect of the policy of the German Federal Republic. Another feature of that policy is the torpedoing of all acts — even signs of realism and common sense among the states of the Atlantic bloc — aimed at an

understanding and the lessening of tension. The building up of their own military forces and, first and foremost, the persistent endeavour to acquire atomic weapons — this is the third and main feature of that policy.

It is true that recently the West-German politicians have been trying to counteract the growing resentment in the world against Bonn's constant *nein*. Defence Minister Schroeder is even trying to assure the world about Federal Germany's desire for a lessening of tension. But how Bonn understands the lessening of tension is authoritatively explained by Mr. Schroeder himself, who stated that there can be no lessening of tension on the basis of the maintenace of the *status quo;* in other words, that if there is to be a lessening of tension it must be on Bonn's conditions for resolving the German question.

This policy of Chancellor Adenauer's government has long ago proven completely bankrupt. The only result of that policy is the cold war which Bonn wishes to continue. It is therefore not surprising that the moment the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, to the general satisfaction of all peoples of the world, reached an understanding regarding a partial ban on the atomic tests, Bonn reacted with unconcealed opposition.

The Moscow Agreement provides — as we know — for the cessation of atomic tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. The atmosphere around the globe will no longer be poisoned by radioactive fallout, very dangerous to humanity in the biological sense. The peoples of the world see in the conclusion of the Moscow Agreement the hope that this step towards peace will be followed by further understandings leading towards the liquidation of the cold war, towards a solution of various controversial international issues by means of negotiations, towards universal disarmament.

However, the opponents of a *détente* — the representatives of the aggressive tendency in the Atlantic bloc, headed by the West-German militarists — are coming out against all this. They took the position that the Moscow Agreement — as the former Minister of Defence in the Bonn Government and at present the Bavarian leader of the Christian Social Union (CSU) put it — is "capitulation of the West," comparing it to the Munich agreement of 1938. The CSU group in Bonn, represented in the Federal German government by five ministers, shared the view of Strauss and of the Secretary General of the CSU, Zimmerman. This shows clearly that the signing of the Moscow Agreement by the German Federal Republic, far from being a "unanimous" decision of the Bonn Government, was the result of pressure of the existing situation.

The negative attitude of Bonn towards the Moscow Agreement could not be expressed by a refusal to sign, mainly because the German Democratic Republic was one of the first countries to sign the Agreement. Not wanting to isolate itself from its own people and not wishing to show world opinion that the German Democratic Republic is the only representative of the peaceful aspirations of the German nation, the Bonn Government was forced to sign the Agreement. At the same time, without mincing words, it told its Atlantic allies that without its agreement, without the advance consent of NATO, where the German Federal Republic occupies one of the leading positions, no further step can be taken towards the lessening of tension.

Trying to block the possibility of further understandings, the government of the German Federal Republic declares, for instance, that the proposal for signing a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries can be discussed

only in connection with the general solution of the German problem.

In the imagination of the Bonn militarists such a "solution" should spell the wiping of the German Democratic Republic from the map of Europe, the scrapping of the Potsdam Agreement concerning the German borders, the destruction of the balance of forces which developed as a result of the war — in short, the turning of the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany into capitulation by the Soviet Union and all the Warsaw Pact countries. Such is the platform of "understanding," in other words, of thwarting every thought of understanding, as put forward by Bonn which dreams of Hitler's posthumous victory. All this has been covered by the decorative fig leaf of "self-determination."

Self-determination of nations was a slogan put forward by Lenin. The imperialists, militarists and colonialists, all exploiters of other nations and of the working masses in their own countries, have always been and remain staunch enemies of this Leninist slogan. The meaning given by Bonn to the slogan of self-determination of nations is the anti-thesis of self-determination, is a caricature of this militant liberation slogan of Leninism.

The people of the German Democratic Republic have long ago achieved their self-determination by throwing out the German militarists and revanchists, by coming out for peace and peaceful coexistence of states, by liquidating capitalist monopolies and nationalizing the factories, mines and other enterprises, by choosing — by means of general elections — their national and local bodies and institutions of representation, and by building Socialism in their country.

On the lips of the leaders and politicians of the German Federal Republic "self-determination" is synonymous with cold war and preparation for aggression and revenge. Ade-

nauer, who is already leaving the political arena but is still dictating the Bonn political line, warned the West in a television interview on September 13th against the Soviet proposals, calling them "an artificial peace." At the same time the government of the German Federal Republic is stepping up the pressure on its allies for a speedy implementation of the programme for creating the so-called multilateral atomic forces in which the Bundeswehr would share in the control of nuclear weapons. This scheme is only an introduction to the independent possession of the destructive weapon demanded for many years by the Bonn militarists. But even the sharing in the control of nuclear weapons by the states which so far do not possess them or, in other words, the creation of the multilateral atomic forces would mean a violation of the spirit of the Moscow Agreement. This step would actually mean a further increase in the number of the so-called atomic states. This would be very dangerous and would result in an aggravation of the situation in Europe and in the world.

The Polish people and world public opinion are disturbed by the fact that the United States not only did not give up the fatal conception of establishing the multilateral atomic forces but, yielding to the pressure of Bonn, intends to organize such forces.

According to the Western press, it stated in Washington that the keys to most of the doors leading to further understanding between East and West are in the hands of Bonn. It is obvious that the present Bonn government will not open those doors. Yielding to West-German pressure and blackmail for blocking the road to a *détente* is a policy detrimental to peace.

Some political leaders in the West realize this more and more. Characteristic in this respect is the statement by U.S. Senator Wayne Morse who, speaking in the Senate on August 19th said: "Someone in Bonn is fooling himself if he thinks

that the East-German question can delay the lessening of tension between East and West for a long time, if other necessary conditions for it are fulfilled."

An increasing number of bourgeois politicians are speaking of the necessity of recognizing the German Democratic Republic and the Odra and Nysa border, and of the urgent need for putting a brake on the atomic appetites of the German Federal Republic. It is not because they like Socialism but because they also see in Federal Germany's demand for a revision of frontiers and in its armaments a serious threat to peace in Europe and in the world. By signing the Moscow Agreement, Poland and the German Democratic Republic expressed their readiness to move forward through constructive peaceful efforts in resolving controversial international problems in the direction of the main goal of the present day, namely of saving the world from war. We attach particular importance to the signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. The signing of such a pact would create an atmosphere of greater confidence throughout the world and would make it easier to move towards general disarmament.

In the new and better climate resulting from the signing of the Moscow Agreement, there also exist more favourable conditions for moving forward on the question of partial disarmament solutions. This applies to the proposals advanced by the Prime Minister of the Soviet government, Comrade Khrushchov, and supported by Comrade Ulbricht, concerning the establishment of control posts on the territories of both German states and at the same time of other steps aimed at the limitation of armaments and the lessening of tension in Europe. It also applies to the Polish plan for creating an atom-free zone of limited armaments in Central Europe. This plan continues to represent a real basis for discussion concerning ways and

means for removing the elements of threat in this part of the world, where there have accumulated contradictions and sources of conflicts that are dangerous to universal peace. The establishment, besides the zone proposed by Poland, of other atom free-zones in northern Europe, in the Balkans, and in the Mediterranean region would bring about a considerable relaxation of tension in Europe and in the world.

Our unchangeable aim is the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states and the solution, on this basis, of the problem of West Berlin by transforming it into a free city. No one has so far advanced a better way of solving this problem from the point of view of peace. The Polish government and people fully support the seven-point programme of "reason and good will" put forward by Comrade Ulbricht at the Sixth Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, a programme which opens the door to a rapprochement and to healthy relations between the two German states.

All measures facilitating international agreement in the sphere of security and the promotion of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states will always meet with warm support on the part of both Poland and the German Democratic Republic. We have confirmed this once again during our present talks.

Comrades,

The second question which occupied a dominant place in our talks concerned economic cooperation between our two countries and fuller utilization of the broad possibilities existing in this respect.

Our economic relations are developing favourably, to the advantage of both sides. The exchange of goods and services between our two countries increases from year to year. In 1955, this exchange amounted to about 890 million convertible zlotys

and by 1962 it increased to 1,410 million convertible zlotys. This year is witnessing a further increase in trade. Our export of goods to the German Democratic Republic is on the whole maintained on the same level, with a high increase in the import of goods, primarily machines and other capital goods, from the German Democratic Republic. The resulting deficit is being covered by our favourable balance in services. Poland obtains a considerable income from services to the German Democratic Republic, mainly from the transit carriage of goods to the German Democratic Republic by the Polish State Railways.

The German Democratic Republic occupies second place, after the Soviet Union, in the foreign trade of Poland. This indicates strong ties between the economies of the two countries. There are growing possibilities and needs for further increasing economic cooperation between Poland and the German Democratic Republic. This is primarily a result of the speedy economic development of both countries — of the development of their productive forces, of their productive base, which has been accomplished to-date and which has been planned for the future. In turn, with every passing year the possibility of achieving this increase by both our countries becomes more and more dependent on the broadening and tightening of our economic cooperation, and on cooperation with other Socialist countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

In spite of the difficult political and economic conditions in which it started its independent existence, the German Democratic Republic achieved great successes and is today one of the most developed Socialist countries. It has become a highly industrialized country, one of the foremost in the world. In a number of important fields of production, for example, in electric power, the per capita production of the German De-

mocratic Republic exceeds the level of the most industrialized countries of Europe. We are very happy about these great successes of our German friends. They are strengthening not only the German Democratic Republic but also the whole Socialist camp — they make it possible to meet, to an ever greater extent, our demands for various machines, capital goods, etc.

In the period of people's power Poland too has thoroughly transformed its old economic structure and has become an industrialized country. We have created a number of new branches of industrial production. We have widely developed the industries which are decisive for the structural transformation of our economy, particularly the machine-building industry, the production of which has increased tenfold in the years 1950-1962, and, as compared with 1938, about thirty times.

For objective reasons the speedy rate of further development of the productive forces in both countries, just as in other smaller Socialist countries, is closely connected with the broadening of the international Socialist division of labour, with the introduction on a wide scale of specialization and cooperation in production, and with the coordination of the economic development plans for the next few years and for the more distant future. The accomplishment of the tasks which we set ourselves in this respect on the basis of the decisions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and of the Polish-German Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, requires the overcoming of many objective difficulties, primarily of a technical nature, and the creation of a proper climate for bilateral and multilateral cooperation at all economic levels.

The development of economic cooperation between Poland and the German Democratic Republic is now on a new plane as a result of the talks and joint decisions taken by both sides during last year's visit of the Polish Party and government

delegation to the German Democratic Republic. The decisions taken there, which expressed the mutual desire for the development of broad economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and which were published in the joint communiqué the delegations of the two countries together with the decisions taken by the Polish-German Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation on the basis of that communiqué, outlined quite a broad programme of action. Today, a year after our visit to the German Democratic Republic, we may state that economic, scientific and technical cooperation between both countries has made considerable progress; nevertheless, its results cannot be regarded as sufficiently satisfactory, particularly in the field of specialization of production; preparations for specialized production do not as yet create a broad enough basis for increasing the exchange of goods between us. Proposals concerning specialization put forward by the two sides cover a wide range of various industrial products. A detailed study of these proposals and the adoption of decisions regarding specialization requires a great deal of work, various analyses, conclusions, agreements, etc. The main thing at present is to speed up that work.

As a result of a review of the progress in carrying out the previous decisions and of the talks conducted during the present visit of the Party and Government delegation of the German Democratic Republic, we have decided to broaden the scope of cooperation to cover additional branches of industry and to introduce new forms.

This applies to cooperation in the field of scientific research and its application in the chemical industry, particularly in the petrochemical industry, as well as in the field of designing modern chemical plant. Such cooperation should be of considerable benefit to our countries, both of which are speedily developing their chemical industry, building, among other

plants, their great petrochemical works which will soon begin to refine the oil delivered from the Soviet Union via the "Friendship" pipeline.

We have decided to broaden the programme for the division of labour in the manufacture of rolled products and to introduce cooperation in other fields of the metallurgical industry. The same applies to electronics, which plays a tremendous role in technical progress. Close cooperation is to be extended to scientific research, production and the development of semi-conductors as well as other elements and plant.

Both sides have taken appropriate decisions about the broadening of cooperation — in the field of science, design and production — in such branches as industrial hydraulics, installations and machinery for the fish-canning industry, electronic computers, etc.

There are favourable conditions for broad economic cooperation between the two countries. At present Poland and the German Democratic Republic possess a more or less equal industrial potential. At the same time the total production in each of the two countries is not great enough to make it possible to undertake, on a national scale, the profitable production of all industrial goods necessary for the harmonious development of the whole economy. From the internal point of view this necessitates — both in Poland and the German Democratic Republic — a lessening of the role of manpower and an increase of the role of labour productivity for the expansion of production on the basis of advanced technology, a lessening of material costs and more rational and effective capital investments. This can be achieved through a more far-reaching Socialist division of labour, specialization of production within the framework of the existing production capacity and the type of coordination of investments which would determine the future line of industrial specialization of the individual coun-

tries. This will make it possible to avoid duplication of production and create a basis for mass production for the needs of the home market and of the other countries. This problem faces us all along the line, but especially so in the machine-building industry where Poland and other countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have reached a comparatively high level of development.

The everyday implementation of these far-reaching plans requires new methods of work, the establishment of direct cooperation between many plants and amalgamated industries, scientific research institutes and design offices.

We have good reason to believe that the development of economic cooperation between Poland and the German Democratic Republic is on a good road, and that the visit of our German friends, the talks and the joint decisions will become a new and strong stimulus to all the economic bodies of both countries to make this cooperation as comprehensive as possible. This lies in the best interest of our two countries and of all the Socialist countries.

Comrades,

People's Poland and the German Democratic Republic as well as the leading forces of the two nations that are building Socialism — the Polish United Workers' Party and the German Socialist Unity Party — represent strong links in the chain of unity of the community of Socialist states and of the international Communist movement. This unity, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, increases manyfold the strength of each Socialist country and of each Workers' and Communist party, is a basic source of the successes achieved by the individual countries in Socialist construction, and constitutes a pre-condition for conducting an effective and victorious struggle against imperialism, for

safeguarding world peace, for freedom and independence of all nations, and for Socialism.

In our times, the Communist movement has become a powerful world force. The Workers' and Communist parties in each of the countries and regions of the world are working under varied conditions created by the historic development of their nations. These different conditions bring about more or less important differences in approach to a number of international problems. This gives rise to the need for an exchange of views and experiences, for periodic joint consultations, and for agreement on the basic problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics. Conditions for all that had existed since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The creative transformations which that Congress promoted among the Communist and Workers' Parties, transformations stemming from the very essence of Marxism-Leninism, provided conditions for real unity in the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement, unity based on the principles of independence and equality of all parties acting on the basis of the common principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, which took place in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, devoted a great deal of attention to the defining of the principles of the unity of our movement and of the content on which that unity ought to be based. These principles were laid down in the unanimously adopted documents. Each party independently determines its political line, applying the general laws of Marxism-Leninism and the principles jointly adopted at the meeting of all parties to the concrete conditions of its country.

However, there is one sphere in which our parties must coordinate their actions much more closely and where their line must be uniform, namely, the sphere of foreign policy, of

the struggle of the Socialist camp against imperialism. From the very nature of things, the struggle between the forces of progress, Socialism and peace, and the forces of reaction, imperialism and war, has at present an international character and hence constitutes an international front of class struggle. On this front, in the struggle for the same basic aims, there is need for close unity of efforts and activities by the Communist parties and the countries of the Socialist camp, for strict observance of the jointly adopted line and principles.

Unfortunately, the Chinese comrades have deviated from this road. They are now transforming their former different views on certain basic problems — fully permissible in discussions between parties — into a separate and publicly proclaimed political line, which naturally weakens the unity of the Socialist camp and of the international Communist movement. The Chinese comrades developed a particularly harmful public discussion after the conclusion of the Moscow Agreement on the partial banning of atomic tests, an agreement which the People's Republic of China refused to sign.

This however is still not the worst. The People's Republic of China, as every other sovereign state, is fully entitled to make its own decision about signing or not signing an international agreement. The government of the People's Republic of China has, on various occasions, made public statements that it will not be bound by any international agreement made without its participation. This stand is fully justified. Every sovereign state must take a similar position. This, however, does not mean that sovereign states could not sign the agreements, which they regard as useful, even if they did not take part in the negotiations. Poland and the German Democratic Republic and about 100 other states have signed the Moscow Agreement although it has been concluded without their participation. The People's Republic of China did not adhere to the Moscow Agreement.

The People's Republic of China had the right to make such a decision. On the other hand, we, the other Socialist states, have the right to our own views concerning this decision and we can only regret that the signature of the People's Republic of China does not appear in the Moscow Agreement.

The worst is that the Chinese comrades have treated the Moscow Agreement as a springboard for fully unjustified attacks on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on her leaders, on the leaders of the great Land of Soviets, using forms and methods of polemics impermissible among comrades. Only the enemies of the People's Republic of China, of the Soviet Union and of all the Socialist countries, only the enemies of Socialism are happy about this polemic. The Communists and all friends of Socialism are greatly distressed by it. Passion has taken the upper hand over reason and political wisdom, over concern for that which is most important — the unity of the Socialist camp and of the international Communist movement.

I have already mentioned that France too did not sign the Moscow Agreement. She did so not because she was not invited to take part in the Moscow negotiations. On the contrary, France did not accept the invitation to those negotiations, just as she did not send her delegate to the Geneva Disarmament Commission of 18 states set up by the United Nations Organization. General de Gaulle wants France to become an atomic power and resists everything which he regards as an obstacle. France is a member of NATO, hence an ally of the United States, yet the leaders of France and the French politicians reacted quietly to the Moscow Agreement, one of the signatories of which was the United States, an ally of France. World public opinion heard from the official spokesmen of France a statement that France will not join the Moscow Agreement. That was all.

Could not the Chinese comrades have reacted in a similar manner to the Moscow Agreement? Nothing can explain their

attacks on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet leaders in connection with the fact that the Soviet Union concluded an agreement with the United States and Great Britain for banning atomic tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. All conclusions drawn by the Chinese comrades from the above fact are groundless, false, and not corresponding to reality. The Moscow Agreement lies in the deepest interests of all the Socialist states and all nations of the world; it is conducive to our struggle for peace, freedom and independence of all nations, to our struggle for Socialism.

In connection with the heated polemic, we associate ourselves with the proposal contained in the recent statement of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union directed to the Communist Party of China, and appeal in our own right to the Chinese comrades: it is high time to stop this harmful public polemic. The differences should be resolved by way of interparty discussions and not before the enemy. This is required by the cause that is dearest to all of us — unity of the Socialist states and of the international Communist movement.

Both our parties, the Polish United Workers' Party and the German Socialist Unity Party, defend and will continue to defend the unity of the Socialist camp and of the international Communist and Workers' movement. The present visit of our German comrades and friends strengthens the fraternal unity between both parties and the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of our two countries and thus makes a valuable contribution to the unity of all Socialist states, to our common struggle for peace, progress and Socialism!

Long live the fraternal unity of the peoples of Poland and the German Democratic Republic!

Long live the pioneer of the new road for the German people — the German Democratic Republic!

Long live the fraternal German Socialist Unity Party and its leadership, with Comrade Walter Ulbricht at the head!

Long live the unity of the Socialist states and the unity of the international Communist and Workers' movement and may this unity continue to grow stronger!

Long live Peace!

ZENON KLISZKO
Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary
of the CC of the PUWP

ADDRESS AT THE 13TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

JULY, 6th, 1963

Comrades,

At this Plenum we are discussing the problems of the ideological life of our Party. We are discussing it both from the viewpoint of the tasks which confront the Party in the country in this important field of activities, as well as from the viewpoint of the tasks confronting the Party in the community of nations and the entire international Communist and Workers' movement. In this we are consistently guided by the directives of the Declaration and Manifesto of 1957 and the Statement of 81 Parties of 1960 which outline joint stategy and tactics for all parties of our movement in respect to the basic current problems. Life has fully confirmed the correctness of the programme contained in these documents.

In the course of recent years a serious danger to the unity of the Socialist countries and the Communist Parties has arisen as a result of the attitude and activities of the Communist Party of China which has taken a wrong position, different from that of other Communist parties, on some key aspects of the theory and policy of the Communist movement.



ZENON KLISZKO

The standpoint of the Communist Party of China has been supported by the Albanian Party of Labour and some Communist Parties of the Far East. The Plenum of the Central Committee was informed in full about the essence of these differences in the summer of 1960 after the Bucharest meeting of some Communist Parties and in January 1961, at the 7th Plenum of the CC after the Moscow Conference of 81 Parties.

This conference was called mainly to discuss the existing differences of opinion, to overcome them by joint effort, and to maintain and strengthen the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

It was to be hoped that in placing their signature under the Statement of 81 Parties the Communist Party of China and a number of other parties would retreat from their erroneous position and would, in the future, march in step with the entire international Communist movement. For a certain time after the Moscow Conference it seemed that the Communist Party of China had indeed abandoned the propaganda of its separate position.

In 1962, however, it turned out that the Communist Party of China had, in fact, not altered its previous position and did not intend to observe the principles jointly outlined by

the international Communist movement at the conference in 1960. On the contrary, in 1962 the leadership of the Communist Party of China with greater activity than previously undertook propaganda to spread views contrary to the Moscow Statement and in international policy began to carry out a line opposed to that of the entire Socialist camp, thus harming the cause of Socialism and peace. The leadership of the CPC permitted the border dispute with India to become sharpened and to be transformed into an actual border war. As a result an extremely difficult situation arose for the forces of progress in India, a fierce witch-hunt against the Communist Party of India was begun, the reactionary Indian bourgeoisie strengthened its influence and ignited nationalistic hysteria, and the United States and Great Britain actively began to strengthen their influence on India.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China actively supported and upheld the splitting activities of the Albanian Party of Labour. It can be said that without this support these activities could not have developed on such a scale as at present.

A particularly serious difference between the CPC and other Communist parties came to light during the crisis in the Caribbean area in the autumn of last year.

The USSR and other Socialist countries at that time did everything in order to prevent war and to strengthen the security of Cuba. For the sake of the defence of this "Island of Freedom" the USSR sent rocket weapons to Cuba. The position assumed by the USSR during the crisis actually prevented the US imperialists from carrying out their aggressive intentions and compelled the US government to publicly renounce intentions of armed intervention in Cuba. It was manifested that the Socialist camp is in position to effectively oppose the export of counter-revolution even in the Western

Hemisphere. In this situation the USSR could withdraw its rocket weapons from Cuba.

The CPC did not lend its support to this wise and far-sighted policy of the USSR. On the contrary, it attacked this policy accusing the USSR of capitulation, of bartering with the interests of Cuba, of "a new Munich." On numerous occasions leading articles in the Peking *Zhenminzhipao* carried theses of the type: "... we strongly opposed, we are still opposed and shall continue to be so in the future as well, to sacrificing the sovereignty of some countries as a means of compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can be regarded as a 100 per cent, pure and unquestionable Munich."

The standpoint of the Communist Party of China during the Cuban crisis bore the mark of irresponsible political adventurism. In practice it meant playing with the danger of war and demagogic flinging about of sharp words without any backing. This brought no benefit to the cause of the security of Cuba.

In essence the leadership of the CPC attempted to set at variance the revolutionary government of Cuba and the Soviet Union. This attempt ended in fiasco.

It was firmly rebuffed by Comrade Fidel Castro during his recent visit of fraternity and friendship to the USSR.

After the Cuban crisis the Communist Party of China developed large-scale public polemics against the CPSU and other Communist Parties, accusing them of coming to an agreement with imperialism, of modern revisionism, etc. Delegates of the Communist Party of China imposed these polemics on congresses of Communist Parties which were held at that time. The Chinese press published many lengthy articles, formally directed against individual parties and their leaders, among others, against the position of the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the United

States, but, in fact, directed against the political line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire international Communist movement.

Taking note of the serious situation which had been created, Comrade Khrushchov, at the Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, proposed that the public polemics be stopped and that direct talks be undertaken between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China in order to reduce, and then to overcome the differences as well as to prepare a conference of all Communist Parties.

Our Party fully supported this correct proposal.

The CPC formally agreed with the proposal of the CPSU, but, in fact, it not only did not cease the public polemics with other parties, but even extended and sharpened them, adding new differences to the old. A particularly drastic example of these erroneous tactics, which take no account of the interests of the Communist movement, is the recent letter of the CC of the CPC to the CC of the CPSU of June 14th, 1963. There is no opportunity today to make a detailed analysis of this lengthy document. I wish to limit myself merely to emphasizing some of its most important theses.

This letter simply teems with serious accusations and charges which obviously distort the truth and impute to the CPSU and other parties views which these parties have never expressed. The CPSU is accused of holding the view that "contradictions between both world systems: Socialism and capitalism, will disappear in the course of economic competition," that it does not differentiate "between enemies, friends and ourselves," and that "it entrusts the fate of the people and of mankind to cooperation with imperialism."

There is no need to show that these charges are unfounded. They are contradicted by life, by the daily practice of the policy of the USSR and other Socialist countries. And the

authors of the letter of the CC of the CPC can scarcely be unaware of this. We must, however, firmly denounce the method of polemics employed by the Chinese comrades, who consciously resort to distortion of the truth and, in this way, manifest that they are not interested in a businesslike discussion, and in overcoming the differences, but rather in sharpening them. This must necessarily instill us with the greatest concern. The use of dishonest arguments, insinuations and demagogy is unacceptable in relations between Communists and casts a shadow over the goals towards which the CPC is striving, transforming the discussion into a struggle of a splitting nature.

Serious anxiety must also be aroused by the significant title of the letter of the CC of the CPC. In making its "proposals on the general line of the international Communist movement" the leadership of the CC of the CPC seem to suggest that this movement does not have a general line, or that it is guided by an erroneous and incorrect line. But two and a half years ago the CPC put its signature to the Moscow Statement and, today, it still loudly affirms its faith in its principles.

The essence of the matter is that the CPC presents new proposals for a general line for the movement because it does not agree, in principal matters, with the line of the conferences of 1957 and 1960 and, in practice, departs from this line.

The CPC continues to maintain its erroneous position on the question of war and peace. In a letter to the CC of the CPSU the Chinese Comrades question the thesis of the Statement that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition should constitute the foundation of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries. They make the charge that this means "abandonment of the cause of the revolution

under the pretext of avoiding victims." Directly connected with this is the resumption by the CPC of its opposition to the demand for general and complete disarmament. "If someone", write the Chinese comrades, "regards general and complete disarmament as the main road to world peace, spreads the illusion that imperialism will automatically lay down its arms, and tries to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations under the pretext of disarmament, this signifies deliberate deceit of the nations of the world and assistance to the imperialists in the implementation of their policy of aggression and war."

The Communist Party of China still does not want to recognize the qualitative changes which the new weapons of mass annihilation have introduced in the question of war and peace and the new balance of forces which is changing steadily in our favour. The Chinese press, as well as the official documents of the Communist Party of China, merely repeat in other words the old thesis that the atomic weapon is a "paper tiger," that people and not technology are decisive in war. It is worthwhile to recall what the Chinese leaders said in order to understand the real sense of the thesis of the CPC on this matter. They said that as a result of a thermonuclear war perhaps half of the population of our planet would perish, and in this 300 million of the 600 million Chinese. Such losses, however, would pay, for imperialism would be destroyed, Socialism would prevail in the world and, after a short time, the population would again reach a figure of 3,000 million.

It is clear that with such assumptions on the question of war and peace no mobilization of the masses of the people for a struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression would be possible. If the Socialist camp were to take a position in agreement with the CPC that would lead to its isolation from the nations of the world, would make it easier for the imperial-

ists to prepare and unleash a world war which would bring the destruction of the greatest centres of human civilization, of the cultural and economic achievements of dozens of generations. As a result of this war mankind would be pushed back by centuries towards primitive living and production conditions. That would make it extremely difficult not only to build Socialism, but even to maintain social life. In counterposing the struggle for a Socialist revolution against the struggle for peace the leadership of the CPC has no faith in the possibility of preventing war and, for that reason, is prone to treat slogans of peace only as a tactic calculated to unmask imperialism but without any chances as a guiding line for policy.

This is a profound error. Millions of people of our planet detest war and wish to avert it. If they are convinced that the threat of war comes only from imperialism and peace is defended above all by the camp of Socialism, then, on the basis of this conviction, the influence of Socialism will extend immeasurably and subjective conditions for a Socialist revolution will mature. This is the purpose served by the entire policy of the Socialist camp. The CPC, by its irresponsible, leftist position undermines the results of this policy and in this way weakens the forces of Socialism.

The CPC has departed, essentially, from the principles established at the Moscow Conference on the question of the national liberation movement of oppressed and dependent nations. In complete accordance with the experiences of recent decades the Statement declared that the successful struggle of the nations for their liberation from the colonial yoke and from economic dependence has been made possible, above all, by the existence of the Socialist camp and its political and economic assistance to the colonial nations. The more powerful the forces of Socialism the better will be the prospects of the newly-liberated countries.

Meanwhile, the Chinese comrades have, for many months, both in theory and in practice tried to drive a wedge between the countries liberated from the colonial yoke and the countries of the Socialist camp.

Describing the contemporary epoch the Moscow Statement declared that its fundamental quintessence is the transition from capitalism to Socialism inaugurated by the great Socialist October Revolution, that this is an epoch of struggle between two opposed social systems, an epoch of Socialist revolution and national-liberation revolution, an epoch of the decline of imperialism, liquidation of the colonial system, an epoch of the entry of more and more new nations onto the road to Socialism, an epoch of triumph of Socialism and Communism on a world scale. The Moscow Statement emphasized the decisive importance of economic competition between Socialism and capitalism. That social system will triumph which ensures a higher social labour productivity and frees the nations from misery and backwardness. Lenin advanced this thesis back at the very birth of Soviet power and during the past forty-odd years life has provided splendid confirmation of its profound correctness. If the dynamic economic development of the Socialist world did not continuously alter the balance of forces in the world in favour of Socialism, then neither further development of the Socialist revolution nor successes of the national liberation movement would be possible. The chief premise for the final victory of Socialism as a social system in the world and for the liquidation of imperialism is precisely this superiority of Socialism in the economic field, its ability to carry out a more rapid, crisis-free, planned development of the productive forces.

The main contradiction of contemporary mankind is the contradiction between Socialism and capitalism. The fate of all mankind and hence the fate of the colonial peoples, depends

on the result of the competition between the two social systems, and especially between the USSR and the USA. The Soviet Union is the main opponent of imperialism, a force capable of paralyzing its political aspirations.

The leadership of the CPC is revising these fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism. It is characteristic that in the 40 pages of the recent letter of the CC of the CPC to the CC of the CPSU there is not a single positive reference to the economic competition between Socialism and capitalism, gone, too, is the thesis on the decisive significance of this competition, whereas the thesis has been advanced on the decisive role of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We read there: "the entire cause of the world proletarian revolution depends on the outcome of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of these continents, peoples who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the world."

This thought has been expressed even more clearly in the article "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us." This article states: "...the population of these areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute more than 2/3 of the capitalist world. The steadily-rising revolutionary wave in these areas and the struggle between the new and old colonial powers of imperialism over these areas are eloquent evidence that these areas constitute the main centre of all contradictions of the capitalist world — it can be said as well that they are the centre of world contradictions."

The position of the international Communist movement on the question of the liquidation of colonialism is clear. We believe that liberation of the colonial nations can be achieved only in cooperation with other contemporary progressive forces, above all with Socialism. The Communist Party of China, on the other hand, has constructed a theory on the special com-

munity of interests, as it were, of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Claiming leadership over this community, the leaders of the CPC have recently emphasized, with particular force, not that China is a Socialist country, but rather that it is an Asian country, and formerly a semi-colony. In this connection the leadership of the CPC has gone a step further along the road of emphasizing the distinctness of their theoretical position. They once spoke of the "Sinozation" of Marxism by Mao Tse Tung. In 1961 Liu Shao Tsi in an interview for Anna Louise Strong stated:

"Marx and Lenin were Europeans, they wrote in European languages about the history of Europe, only rarely mentioning Asia and China. Mao Tse Tung not only has applied Marxism to the new Chinese conditions but also developed it and created a Chinese, or, strictly speaking, an Asian variety of Marxism."

In the footsteps of this theoretical argumentation has come practice aimed at splitting the unity of progressive international organizations and detaching from them separate groupings uniting the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the elimination of the USSR and the Socialist countries of Europe. At the Third Asian-African Solidarity Conference in February of this year, the delegate of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Liu Ning Yi, stated in his address that not the struggle for peace but "the struggle against the new and old colonialism for the triumph and preservation of national independence was, and still is, the main task of all nations of Africa and Asia," that the only country which understands the nations of Asia and Africa is China, that the "liquidation of imperialism will be the work of the nations of Asia and Africa."

This position has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In addition this is a policy extremely harmful for the national liberation movement. The

successes of this movement in recent decades are inseparably linked with the changes in the balance of forces in the world, induced by the development of Socialism, and also with the struggle of the working class and the working masses of the imperialist countries. The Socialist camp has rendered decisive aid to the peoples fighting for freedom. The position of the Soviet Union, its political and military power constitute the only factor in the contemporary world which can effectively head off attempts of imperialist aggression against the newly liberated nations.

The Communist Party of China is trying to push the nations which recently gained their independence or are still fighting for it onto the road of political adventurism, counterposing the struggle for peace to the struggle for national liberation and emphasizing strongly the absolute necessity of the armed character of the national liberation struggles. In this the leadership of the Communist Party of China does not at all take into account the actual situation.

The Socialist countries have always, wherever possible and necessary, rendered military assistance to peoples fighting for their liberation. Assistance in armaments on the part of the Socialist countries made it easier for the people of Algeria to attain victory in the struggle with French imperialism. The industry of the highly developed Socialist countries supplied modern armaments, for example, to India, not to speak of Cuba. The Soviet Union, without shouting, has certainly done more in this field than the People's Republic of China can do. The Socialist countries believe that under present circumstances possibilities have arisen, and are steadily expanding, for the oppressed nations to gain political independence without resort to armed struggle. This is advantageous for these nations since it permits them to realize their national and freedom aspirations without the losses and destruction arising

from a long war. Indonesia recently liberated Western Irian without war. This would have been impossible were it not for the decay of the colonial system which is conditioned by the existence, development and struggle of the Socialist camp, were it not for the political assistance of the Soviet Union on the international arena and also economic assistance as well as the equipment of the Indonesian army with modern weapons by the USSR and other Socialist states. All this caused the chances of Holland's retaining Western Irian to become very negligible and the Dutch imperialists had to give up this territory.

Moreover, most of the former colonial countries have already obtained political independence. The main task which confronts the peoples of these countries is to free themselves from economic dependence, carry out social reforms, expand industry and modernize the economy. By their very nature these tasks cannot be achieved by war. On the contrary. They require peace and a long-lasting peace at that. The former colonial countries are, therefore, interested in the triumph of the idea of peaceful coexistence so as to be able to develop their economies under peaceful conditions and because peaceful coexistence will enable the Socialist countries to render broader and increasingly effective material assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

Understanding of this truth is paving the way for itself among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There is no possibility that the Chinese standpoint, could especially in the long run, win lasting support among these peoples.

In the letter from the CC of the CPC to the CC of the CPSU the Chinese comrades depart from the principles of the Moscow Statement also on the question of the mutual relations between the states of the Socialist camp. Baselessly accusing the Soviet Union of great-power chauvinism, the Chinese com-

rades simultaneously proclaim the nationalistic principle that "each Socialist country must base itself on its own strength, as far as its construction is concerned." They maintain that observance of the principle "of depending mainly on one's own strength in economic construction" is for each Socialist country "the only way of strengthening the might of the entire Socialist camp and increasing its capability of coming to the assistance of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat." Proceeding from these premises, the Chinese comrades attack the decisions undertaken in recent years concerning new forms of economic cooperation between the Socialist countries, and the idea of international division of labour and specialization of production they call "imposition of one's will upon others, violation of the independence and sovereignty of fraternal countries."

What are the causes of the erroneous standpoint of the Communist Party of China on the most complicated questions of strategy and tactics of the international workers' movement? Wherein lies the source of those, actually left-opportunist views which characterize the present standpoint of the CPC?

A certain influence on their appearance is exerted by the specific social and international situation of the People's Republic of China and the historic role of development of the Chinese Revolution. In a backward country, with an enormous predominance of peasant population, there are profound social sources which give birth to petty bourgeois tendencies, to nationalism, and provincialism in politics. The Chinese Communists consider many important problems of international politics solely from the viewpoint of the situation in the Far East, in detachment from the balance of forces on the international arena. It is possible to understand these reasons, but in no way does this mean that it is possible to agree with the standpoint of the Communist Party of China. The Socialist

system has, in our time, become a world system. Its general policy must emerge from an appraisal of the situation and tasks of the working class on the scale of the entire planet. The fundamental problems which confront mankind, particularly the problem of war and peace as well as the problem of liquidation of colonialism and liberation of peoples from misery and backwardness, cannot be solved within the framework of a regional policy: Asian, African, European or other. Only the unification of all contemporary progressive forces, and above all, unity of action by the Socialist states, can ensure a successful solution of these problems. This is not understood by the leaders of the Communist Party af China and in this is expressed their nationalistic narrow-mindedness.

Comrades,

The problem of the unity of the international Communist movement, including the problem of the differences which have arisen within it, should be considered in the context of the entire development of this movement within the past decade. In this development there have appeared not only quantitative changes, in the sense of the growth of the number of parties, growth of influence and sphere of activity of the Communist movement but also profound qualitative changes. Beginning with the historic 20th Congress of the CPSU, the international Communist movement entered a new stage of its development. This stage consists among others, in elimination of the errors of the Stalinist period, in repairing all the harm which the cult of the individual caused in the various countries, in the mutual relations between the parties of this movement and between the nations of the Socialist countries. As a result of the liquidation of the consequences of the cult of the individual the political atmosphere in the Socialist commonwealth and in relations between all the par-

ties of this movement was cleansed. These relations have been based on the only correct and lasting foundation of equality, mutual exchange of views, on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The international Communist movement is growing steadily, encompassing ever new countries and solving the problems of various regions of the world. All countries and all regions of the world have their own specific nature, the various countries are at different stages of development, at different stages of Socialist construction, and, in this situation differences of opinion even on important questions are possible, with the retention of a unified strategy and common tactical principles. These differences at times stem from the specifics of the countries and regions and are frequently linked with the fact that we are at that stage in the development of Socialism at which the rule is the construction of Socialist national states. Simultaneously life itself, the development of the situation in the world calls forth an increasing number of new important problems which require analysis and a standpoint by the international Communist movement and, at times, even modification of a previous position. Such is reality and one should not close one's eyes to this. However, no one, no party, has the right to permit differences of opinion, differences on one or another important matter to weaken or even undermine the unity of our movement.

The differences which have cropped up between the CPC and the other parties, although they are serious, would never have been so dangerous if the CPC had kept to the methods laid down jointly by all the Communist parties for procedure in the event of differences of opinion. At the Moscow Conference all the parties, including the Communist Party of China, agreed that there should be a patient discussion between the leadership of the parties concerned over such differences,

that these differences should not be brought out into public and, above all, in no case should practical political moves opposed to the policy of the majority of the movement be undertaken on the international arena.

These principles have been brutally violated by the CPC; the CPC has avoided a discussion on a Party, principled basis aimed at overcoming the differences, it tried to sharpen the dispute and, in practice, undertook a number of measures of a splitting nature. How otherwise can one understand the sharp attacks of the CPC on the thesis of the Programme of the CC of the CPSU concerning the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and, particularly, concerning the transformation of the Soviet state from a state of dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the entire people? How otherwise can one understand the attempts of the CPC to organize splitting factions within the Communist parties of its appeal in a letter to the CC of the CPSU to Marxist-Leninists "inside the various parties and outside these parties" to overthrow the leadership of their parties or to create new parties? The diplomatic representatives of the People's Republic of China in the Socialist countries, and also in the capitalist countries, are issuing and trying to distribute documents of the Communist Party of China which attack and slander brother parties, in this way violating not only the principles of mutual relations between Communist parties but also the norms generally accepted in the world for relations between states. Similar actions have also taken place in our country.

All of these moves indicate that the leadership of the Communist Party of China has entered the dangerous road of organizing a split in the international worker's movement and creating a bloc of parties and factions led by itself.

The difficult situation which has arisen in the international

workers' movement as a result of the CPC can and should be overcome and unity of the movement restored.

In all of its statements, as well as in the letters which we have exchanged with the leadership of brother parties, our party has refrained from accusing the CPC, although from a principled point of view we did not and do not agree with the views and activities of its leadership. While presenting our standpoint on various current questions, we, at the same time, called for a businesslike and calm internal discussion, for explanation and elimination of the differences which have arisen. We have displayed exceptional restraint in public statements. However, there is no doubt as to the merits of the standpoint taken by our Party. We stand on the ground of the Statement of 1960, and we feel that the CPC has taken a standpoint contrary to this Statement. We have supported the position of the CPSU, of the majority of the brother parties, that after cessation of public polemics it is necessary to strive through internal discussions, talks and exchange of views, to prepare a new international conference of our movement. We have been and still are convinced that only in this way can the differences within the international Communist movement be overcome.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT*

In our times the Communist movement has become the most dynamic and universal social force which has ever existed in history. It unites millions of fighters of all continents of the world, animated by one goal — the desire for a system of social justice, guided by one science and ideology — Marxims-Leninism. At present the Communist parties comprise more than 40 million members and conduct activities on all continents, in nearly all countries of the world.

It is self-understood that there are enormous differences in respect to both the strength and sphere of activities of the various parties and the tasks which confront them for solution. Some of the Communist parties are active under conditions created by the victorious Socialist revolution and are responsible for directing the development of societies building Socialism. Some of the parties conduct their activities in countries of highly developed capitalism, organize the masses for the struggle against exploitation by capital and the aggressive policy of imperialism, for assumption of power by the people. Still other parties are fighting under conditions, fre-

* Editorial from *Nowe Drogi* (New Roads), theoretical and political organ of the CC of the PUWP, No. 9, 1963.

quently conspiratorial, against national oppression and colonialism, for social progress and democracy. The decisive influence which the system of Socialist states now exerts on moulding the fate of the world at the same time places upon these states and the Communist parties leading them, especially upon the USSR and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a particular responsibility for their policy and concrete decisions.

All of this seems indisputable. But this objective situation, so very different for each party taken alone, at the same time gives rise to differences and nuances inevitable in the approach of the various parties to problems of world affairs as well as to internal affairs. The world is so variegated, the history of the various countries and their historical foudations so distinct, the economic and political development so very uneven, that it is almost impossible for it to be otherwise if Communist parties were to be living and creative organisms and not doctrinarian sects isolated from the masses and the conditions of the struggle of their countries.

However, the aims of the Communist movement are, in their essence, international, world-wide. International capital is the enemy of Communism and the masses striving for social and national freedom. In order, therefore, to triumph over this enemy it is necessary to unite the efforts of all workers and working masses of the entire world in a fight for the common goal. This unification, initiated by the slogan of the Communist Manifesto "Workers of all countries, unite!" assumes agreement on joint action by all branches of the international working class, that is, agreement upon a joint line of action, taking account of the interests of all parties, collectively and singly.

If we examine the class struggle of our times on a world scale, the main battle, decisive for the fate of mankind, is being waged between the system of the Socialist states and

imperialism. Clearly the parties exercising power in the Socialist countries must, in their internal policy, take account of the specific national peculiarities and, guided by certain general laws bound up with creation of a new society, employ a broad variety of means and methods in the process of building Socialism, in accordance with the needs. The application of one model in each country, without taking into account its conditions, could only do harm to our common cause. At the same time, however, all parties must constitute a cohesive fighting front in face of the forces of imperialism. This unity of action of the Socialist states against the common enemy is a fundamental principle which constitutes a foundation for the unity of the struggle of the international proletariat.

These are the main ideas contained in the Declaration adopted in 1957 by the conference of representatives of parties of the Socialist countries meeting in Moscow. These ideas were then reaffirmed in their entirety in the Statement of representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' parties who met in conference in Moscow in 1960 in order to discuss and outline a common line of action for the international Communist movement. The Statement, constituting a programmatic document of our movement, a basis for unity of action, was the outcome of a critical analysis of the experience of class struggles, of the confrontation of the premises accepted with the practice of political work, and it came into being as a result of an exchange of views and serious discussions.

Discussions within the Communist movement, between parties, on strategy and tactics are not only something normal but downright necessary. They constitute an expression of their intellectual vitality, their link with life, the development of the world in all its complexity. This was perfectly understood by Lenin, who, as organizer and founder of the Communist International paid the utmost attention to the experi-

ence and appraisals of each party, roused the spirit and need of discussion, and opposed all symptoms of arbitrariness. During Lenin's lifetime discussion was an inseparable element of the international Communist movement united in a common, creative class struggle. Today, when Communist parties exercise power in a number of countries and not only in one, the problem has perhaps become more difficult. But in the struggle with imperialism a common standpoint by the Socialist countries is necessary.

The growth within the international Communist movement of practices connected with "the personality cult" changed this situation. The many-sided exchange of experience and views ceased, and there could be no thought of discussion. The movement of appraisals and views was one-way and arbitrary. There arose an abnormal state of unanimity.

To people who had before their eyes this picture of the unity of the international Communist movement, who had become accustomed to this state of affairs, the effects of overcoming the practices connected with the so-called personality cult and restoration of the Leninist norms in relations between parties, at first could seem at times somewhat strange and even disadvantageous. However, in the light of the experiences of the international Communist movement in the past decade, and especially after the critical 20th Congress of the CPSU it can be seen that restoration of the Leninist norms in relations between parties has exerted a markedly positive influence on the development and activities of each party and of the entire movement. It is true that there were also difficulties and shocks. Practices alien to Leninism were too deeply rooted in order to be able to cope with them painlessly. Nor did the enemies of Communism look on passively. They tried to exploit for their own purposes the transient difficulties

which cropped up on the road to the restoration of the health of the Communist movement.

Recent years have brought an enormous growth in the authority of the ideology of Communism and the strength of its activity upon the masses; each party has added to the general theoretical achievements its own original contribution stemming from its experiences, and on an international scale the activity of the movement has become more varied and flexible, corresponding to the given specific conditions.

Unfortunately, this correct development of the international Communist movement, the process of strengthening the unity of action on a world scale, by agreement upon a common position, by way of exchanges of views and discussions, has been brutally disturbed by the action undertaken by the CC of the Communist Party of China. The position of the CC of the CPC was formulated in full in 25 theses contained in a document called "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement."

In this document the CC of the CPC not only comes up with a complete revision of principal strategic and tactical premises which have been accepted by all Communist parties and which its representatives helped to elaborate, but it also resorts to slander against fraternal parties, particularly against the CPSU. At the same time the CC of the CPC undertook practical measures, which are intolerable from the viewpoint of norms in force between parties, aimed at the arbitrary imposition of its own point of view upon the international Communist movement, at splitting this movement. In its factional activities it has given open support to various small anti-party groups expelled from Communist parties and acting against them.

It must be stated clearly that here we have not a discussion intended to clear up differences of opinion and to work out

a common position for the entire movement, but with a splitting action which is irresponsible in the face of the mortal enemies of Communism and marked by big-power infatuation.

The authors of the 25 theses regard their views and their behaviour as the only ones correct and revolutionary. They regard the views and political line of all other parties as wrong and harmful to the cause of Socialism, as opportunist. They present their theses as a remedy for all problems of the contemporary world, as directives for all parties and all countries. They instruct the CPSU how and what to do in order for it to be a revolutionary party and to advance the USSR, they instruct the parties of the Socialist countries according to what principles they are to develop their economy, they instruct the parties of Italy and France what road they should take in order, in their opinion, to once again become revolutionary parties. In a word, only a party which recognizes the prescription given by the authors of the theses for their activities can earn the name of a revolutionary party.

The very fact that one party, without authorization and consultation, has undertaken an attempt to elaborate principles of procedure for all Communist parties is in complete contradiction with the spirit of international equality and unity of the Communist parties and expresses a tendency to return to a phase of the movement which has been overcome and which recalls bad memories. As to theoretical value, since it ignores the experience and thinking of all active parties it must necessarily be a scheme divorced from concrete reality and no use either to the movement as a whole or to any single party.

What, indeed, do the authors of the theses oppose to the political line of the international Communist movement?

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The fundamental problem defining the nature of the basic difference between the CC of the CPC and the international Communist movement is the attitude to war and peace in our times. The entire world Communist movement takes the stand that in the era of nuclear weapons total war would mean a real cataclysm for mankind and its civilization, that as a result of the fundamental changes in the balance of power between Socialism and imperialism, wars are no longer inevitable, that the combined anti-war forces, based on the might of the Socialist countries, will bridle the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and maintain a world without wars. This position does not in any way stem from the conviction that the economic and social factors thrusting imperalism onto the road of aggression by war have ceased to act. Communists are convinced that tendencies to war are inseparable from imperialism.

This position, the belief in the possibility of the peaceful development of the world, is based on a realistic evaluation of forces, on the sober calculation that imperialism will not incur the risk of war when it has no chance of gaining victory, and there are sufficient grounds for imperialism to be aware of the terrible defeat awaiting it. However, to shape the fate of the world in this way, to save it from nuclear war, requires unwavering vigilance on the part of the peoples, their unceasing struggle to bridle the forces of aggression,the mobilization of all social forces in defence of the constantly endangered peace. It is precisely to this task that the joint international activity of the Communist movement is subordinated. In our times Communists have become the most active defenders of world peace, organizers of the broadest masses for the struggle to bridle the forces of imperialist aggression.

The imperialist system is living through its decline and will be replaced by the world Socialist system. Herein lies

the historic mission of the proletariat and this is the goal set for itself by the Communist movement. The evolution of the world in this direction is inevitable. It is sufficient to recall the enormous social changes which have occurred in the world, the triumphant march of Socialism in the not quite half century since the Great October Revolution, for it to become clear that in voicing this conviction, we are not expressing wishful thinking, but are rather basing ourselves on an understanding of the laws of history.

Imperialism is not in a position to hold back the inevitable progress of Socialism. Under conditions of peaceful development it is only a question of time for it to become clear to all that imperialism cannot compete with it in any field. The imperialists are aware of this though the most "rabid" reactionaries in their grouping still see their only chance of saving the outlived system in the armed destruction of the Socialist states, which constitute the main support for all those whom international capital has robbed and oppressed. Therefore, on a world scale the struggle between the forces of progress and Socialism and the forces of reaction and imperialism today is simultaneously a struggle between the forces of peace and those of war. For the peoples of the world Socialism has become inseparable from peace.

Against the policy of solving disputes between the Socialist and imperialist countries by means of arms, Socialism has advanced the idea of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and competition in every field which brings benefit and happiness to man. It is self-understood that the policy of peaceful coexistence concerns only the mutual relations between the Socialist and capitalist states.

This general line of the world Communist movement provides for both an active and persistent class struggle for Socialism between the exploited working masses and the

capitalist exploiters, and for a struggle of the oppressed nations against their imperialist oppressors, a struggle of the colonial nations against the ruling colonizers. It stipulates that it is impermissible for the imperialist states to export counter--revolution to countries in which revolutionary forces are fighting and gaining victory. As Communists, clearly, we are opposed to the external imposition of revolution by bayonets. This is contrary to our basic principles.

In this way the concept of peaceful coexistence has become the common strategy of the world Communist movement, calculated to paralyze the policy of aggression by imperialism, and to bring the triumph of Socialism throughout the world.

It is precisely this world strategy of peace leading to the final triumph of Socialism that the CC of the CPC rejects. In order to justify their negative attitude the CC of the CPC presents this problem in its theses in this way:

"Peaceful coexistence designates a relationship between countries with different social systems, and must not be interpreted as one pleases. It should never be extended to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes, and never be described as the main content of the transition from capitalism to Socialism, still less should it be asserted that peaceful coexistence is mankind's road to Socialism..."

It could be asked where exactly did the authors of the theses find such an exposition of the principles of peaceful coexistence? Can they show at least one Communist party document containing such a statement? It is incomprehensible how such views can be attributed to a Communist party. The formulation used by the authors of the theses that peaceful coexistence "cannot be interpreted as one pleases" should be addressed to themselves.

"... but, if the general line of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries is confined to peaceful coexistence," we read in the theses, "then it is impossible to handle correctly either the relations between Socialist countries or those between the Socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations. Therefore, it is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries."

In no way is it possible to understand this objection. How exactly could the policy of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries constitute an obstacle to proper establishment of relations between the Socialist countries? Or how could it hinder the Socialist states in rendering moral and material assistance to the oppressed nations and countries in their liberation struggle and in establishing fraternal relations with them? Does not the practical experience of the policy of peaceful coexistence confirm that this is precisely the case?

The Chinese comrades negate the strategic premises of the policy of peaceful coexistence in the name of the triumph of world Socialist revolution. Obviously he is no Communist who does not desire this triumph. We are all animated by faith in this triumph. However, under the conditions of the contemporary world can they present some other strategy of world revolution acceptable to the Communist parties and peoples of the world? Thunderous revolutionary phrases can do nothing here. The CC of the CPC takes the standpoint that the struggle for peace hinders the triumph of revolution and spreads harmful pacifist illusions among the masses, etc. It demands an end to imperialism, since its existence makes war inevitable. How do the Chinese comrades imagine the implementation of such a policy? In the theses they speak much about the necessity of making sacrifices for the sake of triumph over imperialism. Can it be, therefore, that they propose as a line of strategy to the international Communist movement a preventive

war against imperialism in the name of the triumph of revolution?

In "The Open Letter of the CC of the CPSU to Party Organizations and to all Communists in the USSR" published in connection with the thesis of the CC of the CPC, in reply to the position taken by the leadership of the CPC on the question of war or peace we read:

"The Chinese comrades obviously underestimate all the danger a thermonuclear war would present. 'The atomic bomb is a paper tiger,' it is 'not at all terrible,' they contend. The most important thing, they say, is to put an end to imperialism as quickly as possible, but how and with what losses this will be achieved, appeared to be a secondary question. Secondary for whom, it may be asked — for the hundreds of millions of people who would be doomed to death if a thermonuclear war were unleashed? For the countries that would be wiped off the face of the earth in the very first hours of such a war?

"No one, not even a big state, has the right to play with the destinies of millions of people. Those who do not want to exert themselves to banish world war from the life of the peoples, to avert mass annihilation and destruction of the values of human civilization, deserve condemnation.

"The CPC Central Committee letter of June 14 has a good deal to say about 'inevitable losses,' allegedly in the name of the revolution. Some responsible Chinese leaders have also declared that it is possible to sacrifice hundreds of milions of people during the war. 'The victorious peoples,' declares the collection 'Long Live Leninism!' which was approved by the CPC Central Committee, "will very rapidly create on the ruins of destroyed imperialism a civilization a thousand times higher than under the capitalist system, and will build a really splendid future.'

"It is permissible to ask the Chinese comrades: do they

realize what sort of 'ruins' a world nuclear and rocket war would leave behind?

"The CPSU Central Committee — and we are convinced that the entire Party and the Soviet people unanimously support us in this — cannot share the views of the Chinese leadership about the creation of a 'thousand times higher civilization' on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people. Such views are fundamentally contrary to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism."

We are in full accord with this standpoint. We feel that the liberation of the working class and the working masses of each country must be their own deed. In accordance with the principles on which the Communist movement is based we are against the artificial boosting of the revolutionary process from the outside and we have faith in the creative possibilities of the working class which, basing itself on international solidarity, will liberate itself in all countries by way of class struggle.

Characteristic of the standpoint of the leadership of the CPC on the principal question of war or peace is the position which it has taken with respect to the nuclear test ban treaty concluded in Moscow by the governments of the USSR, USA, and Great Britain. The entire world has welcomed this treaty with relief and hope. The forces of peace and progress regard it as an important step on the road of the struggle for a total ban on tests with thermonuclear weapons and elimination of this weapon from the arsenal of means of war. It has heightened the determination of the peoples to continue the fight for attaining this goal which, thanks to this treaty, has become more realistic. However, instead of supporting the peoples in this endeavour, instead of supporting our joint struggle for a total ban on nuclear tests and destruction of the atomic weapon, the government of the People's Republic of China has deemed it possible to come out against this treaty and has

undertaken an unprecedented political campaign against it, going so far as to accuse the government of the USSR of plotting with imperialism.

As it emerges from the declarations of the government of the People's Republic of China, however, the desire to obtain its own thermonuclear weapon underlies its hostility to the Moscow Treaty. The government of the USSR has on many occasions declared that it will regard any violation of the integrity of the territory of the People's Republic of China as a hostile act against itself and will render assistance to the People's Republic of China with all the means available to it, including the thermonuclear weapon, in accordance with the undertakings emerging from the treaty on military assistance. The government of the People's Republic of China maintains that it needs the atomic weapon for defensive purposes. Can it be, therefore, that the assistance which the USSR ensures it is insufficient? Facts indicate that it is entirely sufficient in order to keep the imperialists in check and to ensure the Chinese people peace in its work on the creation of a Socialist society in its country.

Can it be, therefore, that the leadership of the CPC wants, by obtaining the thermonuclear weapon, to compel the Socialist countries to abandon the strategic line calculated to hold the imperialists in check by peaceful coexistence, in order to impose upon the international Communist movement the line of "finishing with imperialism?"

Comrade Gomułka expressed the conviction of our Party when, in his report to the 13th Plenum of the CC, he stated: "To save mankind from a new world war is the historic mission of the Socialist system and the world Communist movement. In the present epoch, that speaks most eloquently for the superiority of Socialism. For only that system which completely

eliminates war from the life of mankind can be the future of the world.

"The peaceful mission of Socialism is becoming an increasingly mightier factor in the development of the international situation, moulding relations between states and the consciousness of the peoples. A practical exponent of this peaceful mission of Socialism in the contemporary world is our policy of peaceful coexistence determining the entire relations of the Socialist states with the capitalist states. The cardinal condition for the success of this policy is the joint action of all anti-imperialist forces, and above all, the unity of the Socialist camp on all principal matters connected with the struggle against the policy of aggression and war, for general disarmament and peace."

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In order to justify their negative attitude to the strategic principle of peaceful coexistence, the Chinese comrades reject the theses of the international Communist movement which state that the major contradiction of our times, determining the course of history, is the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism. In their opinion the major contradiction today is that between the national liberation movement and imperialism. The difference on this question is of basic importance.

If we examine the process of the growth of world revolution, from the aspect of its driving power, it becomes obvious that in the vanguard of this movement are the Socialist states and the international working class supported in the struggle with imperialism by the national liberation movement. The era of national liberation movements and disintegration of the colonial system began with the triumph of the Socialist revolution in Russia. Lenin always treated the national liberation

movement as a mighty force allied with the proletarian revolution, as an organic part of it. However, the degree of development of these movements, their force and extent, are conditional upon the degree of development and might of Socialism. The historic process of the liberation of colonial peoples fully confirms this truth. The actual disintegration of the colonial system became possible due to the support which the nations struggling for freedom found in the growing force of Socialism in the world, due to the might which it represents today and by whose help the national liberation movement was shielded and supported. Just as in the past the success of the national liberation movements was conditional upon their ties with the Socialist countries and the international proletariat, so also in the future will the consolidation of the national emancipation of former colonies and their evolution towards Socialism be conditional upon these bonds.

Resorting to neo-colonial methods, imperialism has by no means abandoned the large areas of the world which, until recently, it exploited as its own colonial hinterland. Its efforts are aimed mainly at pitching the former colonial countries against the Socialist countries. In this it sees the possibility of resubjugating them. Therefore, for these countries the existence of the Socialist states, the possibility of benefiting from their financial, economic, technical and even political and military assistance, is of basic importance. The Socialist states have entered into extensive relations with them, give these countries long-term credits, supply capital goods, conclude trade agreements excluding discrimination, and in their own institutions of higher learning train cadres of future leaders of the economic and political life of these countries.

This in itself creates more favourable conditions of development for the new-born states, strengthens their position in the face of the pressure from the imperialist states, permits the

implementation of long-term economic development plans, based on the assistance of the Socialist countries, and gives them support in the struggle to maintain their sovereignty and an independent state existence.

The imperialists cannot reconcile themselves to the fact of the decline of the colonial system. In 1956 they tried to suppress to Egyptian revolution but thanks to the position taken by the USSR they suffered a shameful defeat and the revolution triumphed. Later they tried to suppress the revolution in Iraq and then in Syria. But this time, too, the Socialist states defended these revolutions.

The Socialist states supported the government in India when it undertook to liquidate the colony of Goa and decided to unite it with the country, they supported the just demands of the Indonesian government for the liquidation of the colony in West Irian and its annexation to the homeland. All of these facts indicate eloquently what the commonwealth of the Socialist countries is for the national liberation movement, and that only in the closest cooperation with this commonwealth will the newly-born countries be able to implement their plans for accelerated development, for overcoming the enormous gap dividing them from the highly developed countries.

For these countries the general foreign policy line of the Socialist states, banking on peaceful coexistence, is of great importance. On the one hand, peace creates for these countries the indispensable conditions for concentrating their efforts upon their own economic development. On the other hand, the struggle of the Socialist states for peace and relaxation of tension in international relations should lead to a limitation of the arms race and reduction of military expenditures. The Socialist states are precisely the advocates of such a policy, they demand that the enormous material resources presently swallowed up by armaments should, after the restriction of

military expenditures, be allocated largely for a fund to aid the underdeveloped countries. This programme has received broad support in the newly-born countries but it requires unification of all forces against the war policy of imperialism, for the struggle for peace and relaxation in relations between nations.

But such a process of development means that the main motive force remains the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism, that peaceful coexistence can and should be its basis.

But the CPC rejects the policy of peaceful coexistence. This, as well as the desire to gain popularity in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, certainly explains the position taken by the leadership of the CPC which brings to the fore the contradiction between the national liberation movement and imperialism. But by doing so it not only deviates from the Leninist premises of revolutionary strategy but, violating the union between these movements and the development of world forces of Socialism, artificially isolates and opposes the newly liberated nations to the system of Socialist states and the international working class. Such a practice can only do harm to the cause of these nations.

Having entered on this road, the Chinese comrades do not hesitate to make insinuations in order to achieve their aim. In their theses they found it possible to state:

"Certain persons in the international Communist movement are now taking a passive or scornful or negative attitude towards the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. They are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat and degenerating into Social Democrats."

The theoretical and practical position of the international Communist movement with respect to the national liberation

movement has a rich tradition. The most active participation in the struggle of colonialism is one of its heroic pages. The Chinese comrades cannot erase the historic truth that in its struggle for liberation over decades they had the support of the international Communist movement.

The international Communist movement has the greatest sympathy and understanding for the national liberation movement and gives it its most vigorous support. The position of Communists with respect to the national liberation movement has been formulated in the "Letter" of the CC of the CPSU in the words:

"The guarantee of future victories, both of the international working class and of the national liberation movement, lies in their firm alliance and cooperation, in joint struggle, dictated by their common interests, against imperialism. In this struggle, the working class, by its selfless dedication to the interests of all the peoples, wins recognition as the leader and convinces its allies that its leadership is a reliable guarantee of victory for itself and for them.

"Our Leninist Party regards the national liberation movement as a component part of the world revolutionary process, as a mighty force combating imperialism."

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A basic difference between the position of the CC of the CPC and the Communist movement is also revealed in the approach to the strategy and tactics of the Communist parties functioning in countries of highly developed capitalism.

As a result of specific historic factors the range of action and the strength of the Communist Parties in the countries of highly developed capitalism are greatly uneven. In some countries, for example, in Italy and France, the Communist

parties are mass parties with extensive influence, in others, for instance, in the USA and Britain, they have not reached this stage of development and strength. In all these countries which are among the leading imperialist states and which owe their wealth to plunder and exploitation of the rest of the world, the bourgeoisie has had exceptional opportunities to corrupt the working class, in particular due to the creation of a so-called workers' aristocracy. At the same time in these countries the political experiences of the bourgeoisie in exercising political power is very great. Even though the workers of the imperialist countries are much better paid than in the underdeveloped countries they remain hired hands of capital and are exploited by it. The enormous number of strike actions and the scale of these actions are an expression of the profound class antagonism rending the contemporary capitalist society. However, owing to the privileged economic position of the imperialist countries the workers there are considerably influenced by trade union ideology (Britain and the USA) and Social Democratic ideology (West Germany, the Scadinavian countries and France). At the same time the mighty propaganda machine in the form of the mass communication media — the press, radio, television, etc., are directed full blast against the activities of the Communist parties and on the basis of the unbridled and completely unscrupulous ideology of anti-Communism the wildest prejudices against the aims and objectives of Communism are aroused. When, in their mind this is insufficient, the bourgeoisie unleashes the apparatus of police violence, going so far as to outlaw Communist parties (the United States, West Germany).

The fact that the overwhelming majority of society is exploited by the financial oligarchy which is closely bound up with the apparatus of state power, the fact that state policy, in solicitude for the interests of big capital, is directed

against the vital interests of the broadest masses, creates objective conditions for Communists to acquire great influence in the society. New opportunities have arisen for the creation of large progressive political blocs, blocs aimed against the policy of the state and the monopolies. The demands for restriction of monopoly profits, for better working conditions and higher pay, for expropriation of the monopolies and nationalization of industries of particular importance for the society, the demand for a policy of peace and condemnation of the aggressive and genocidal state policy dictated by the interest of big capital — all this today is reality in the imperialist countries and makes the broad masses more radical. This is a great opportunity for the Communist parties. On the basis of these demands some of them have become the most influential political forces in their countries. The point is for these parties to organize the masses and lead them in the struggle for their just demands, demands directed against the most reactionary forces and social relations; this paves the road for progress and further demands for structural transformation of the economic and political life.

It is therefore clear to everyone that under the specific conditions in the countries of highly developed capitalism the basic task for the parties is to overcome the wall of prejudice and bias by which the bourgeoisie is trying to isolate the Communists from the broadest masses of the people, and to work out a strategy and tactics which would in a revolutionary manner combine the degree of political maturity of the masses with the programmatic aims of the Communist movement.

It is precisely on this point that the principle of peaceful coexistence and the related struggle for disarmament and for economic competition, as proclaimed by the Socialist countries, is of extreme strategic importance. The cold war and

the war hysteria whipped up on this basis have been tried instruments of anti-Communist propaganda. The peoples of the capitalist countries are aware of the misfortune which would befall them in the event of a thermonuclear war. The policy of peace, proclaimed by the Socialist countries and imposed upon the imperialist countries, constitutes an important factor weakening the political influence of reaction among the broadest masses of people in those countries, and creates new possibilities for the Communist parties to win them over for the struggle against the most aggressive forces of the big monopolies. At the same time the peaceful development of the Socialist economies heightens the endeavours of the working masses in the capitalist countries to make increasingly more far-reaching economic and social demands. Under these conditions the strategy and tactics of the Communist parties must take as their starting point not isolated demands and revolutionary slogans but the concrete opportunities stemming from the objective development of the class struggle, combining the partial and immediate demands with a campaign of educating and creating a revolutionary vanguard conscious of its final aims. This is precisely how the parties in the countries of highly developed capitalism are proceeding. These parties are persecuted and hated by the bourgeoisie for their revolutionary attitude, they are in the front ranks of those fighting against imperialist reaction and aggression and thanks to the correctness of their political line are supported in such countries as Italy and France by millions of voters.

In the meantime this political line of the Communist parties is an object of particular attack on the part of the leaders of the CPC. What do they object to in the political line pursued by the Communist parties of the highly developed capitalist countries? They accuse these parties of having ceased to be revolutionary parties, of having become Social Democratic

parties with their specific opportunism and parliamentary cretinism. This is very peculiar. Here, the leadership of the CPC usurps the right to destroy the good name of these parties, to deny their revolutionary character.

In accordance with the principles of internationalism and norms of relations between parties, each party works out its political line on the basis of its own experience of class struggle and knowledge of the objective conditions of this struggle. It is therefore self-understood that each Communist party is most competent in establishing the principles of its activity. Herein lies its independence as a vital and thinking political organism. Evaluation of its activities, of whether it is not living up to revolutionary principles, is a thing, above all, for the members of the given party and for the masses which it leads. Can it be that the Chinese comrades question this principle and regard themselves as having been called upon to determine the line of procedure of each Communist party from Peking?

And what does the CC of the CPC regard as the correct line of procedure for the Communist parties in the capitalist countries? "In the imperialist and capitalist countries," we read in the theses, "the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for the thorough resolution of the contradictions of capitalist society." Going on to emphasize, in most general terms, the necessity of uniting with the left-wing elements of Social Democracy for the struggle against monopolies and the expansionist aspirations of the USA, the theses declare: "while actively leading immediate struggles, the Communists in the capitalist countries should link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and undertake the historical task of proletarian revolution. If they fail to do so,

if they regard the immediate movement as everything, determine their conduct from case to case, adapt themselves to the events of the day and sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat — that is out-and-out Social Democracy."

If we omit the positive part of the quoted formulation which repeats teachings of importance for every Communist party in every country and under all historical conditions until power is gained, and which, therefore, does not give any concrete indications for parties whose line is appraised as being non-revolutionary — it appears that the gist of the matter is the demand for a Socialist revolution and establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat. And in actual fact the CC of the CPC demands that the parties of the countries of highly developed capitalism take a line of armed uprising in order to accomplish a Socialist revolution. Hence the attack on the possibility, envisaged by these parties, for a peaceful development of the revolution, not only taking into consideration the prospects of armed uprising. The Chinese comrades reject the possibility of peaceful development of revolution and they regard the choice of a course for armed uprising as the criterion for the revolutionary nature of the Party.

Could it be that the problem of an armed uprising depends on the subjective attitude of the party and its leaders? Marxist-Leninists have always believed that his question depends directly on the concrete conditions in the given country, on whether a situation has arisen in which the broadest masses can no longer live as in the past and the ruling class can no longer rule as of old, that is, a revolutionary situation has arisen. But a situation in a given country can be defined as revolutionary only by a party which stands at the head of the masses and which by its activities has contributed to the creation of this situation.

We regard what the 'Letter' of the CC of the CPSU states on this subject as being perfectly correct:

"The mortal sin of many Communist Parties in developed capitalist countries, the Chinese comrades think, is that they consider their immediate task to be the struggle for the economic and social interests of the working people, for democratic reforms that are feasible under capitalism and improve the conditions of the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeois strata, facilitating the establishment of a broad anti-monopoly front as the basis for further struggle for the victory of the Socialist revolution — in other words, that they are doing all the things set out in the Moscow Statement of 1960."

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The authors of the theses make their most surprising statements when they formulate their criticism of the internal policy of the CPSU. They state that since the programme accepted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU describes the Soviet State as a state of the entire people the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the interests of Socialism, prevents further progress towards Communism, and leads to the restoration of capitalism. This is improbable, and yet the leaders of the CPC have come out with such a statement to the entire Communist movement and world public opinion.

Arbitrarily assuming that the USSR has not yet reached the stage of having constructed Socialism, since there are still speculators, thieves, loafers and other social riffraff there, the theses declare:

"What will happen if it is announced, half way through, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary? Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the state of the dictatorship of the

proletariat? Does this not license the development of 'this contagion,' this plague, this ulcer that Socialism has inherited from capitalism?

"In other words this would lead to extremely grave consequences and make any transition to Communism out of the question."

Commenting on the definition by the programme of the CPSU to the effect that the Soviet party is a party of the entire people, the authors of the theses add: "Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the party of the proletariat? Does this not disarm the proletariat and all the working people, organizationally and ideologically, and is it not tantamount to helping restore capitalism?

Do the authors of the theses believe in their own words, which they have written? Do they really believe that the Soviet state of the entire people will not manage to curb the thieving and speculating elements? Do they have even a shadow of a proof to show that these elements exert an influence on the trend of development in the USSR? The 22nd Congress of the CPSU was held in September 1961. It adopted a long-term programme for the construction of a Communist society in the USSR. This programme is being implemented consistently by the Soviet people under the leadership of the party. Does the CC of the CPC have any basis to deny this fact, which the entire world public opinion knows?

In the theses we can find allusions to the goal, proclaimed by the CPSU programme, of bringing about well-being in the Soviet society. The authors of the theses see in this symptoms of degeneration and bourgeois desires. This is quite a strange approach to the question.

In accordance with the teachings of Marxim-Leninism, we feel that in the final reckoning of the struggle between So-

cialism and capitalism on a world scale will be determined by the productivity of labour in the society, by which society will show the greater capability of satisfying human needs. For the broadest masses the Socialist system means a better life than under capitalism, a life without exploitation and degradation, the possibility of satisfying material and spiritual needs. This is how the masses understand Socialism and that is what they expect of it. And this is correct. Communists call the masses to struggle for a new system in order to make human life better and more beautiful. The Chinese comrades treat the aspirations of the masses for a better life, and Socialism as a system in which well-being prevails, with haughty contempt and are prepared to recognize it as a bourgeois tendency. They seem to forget, however, that the modern Communist movement has nothing in common with ascetic Communism. For us the creation of well-being for the peoples of the Socialist states is of fundamental importance, and is the general direction of our efforts in the great battle for the world triumph of Socialism.

We believe that there are no fallible and infallible parties. Only the system of the personality cult is based on the principle of infallibility. Therefore, we do not feel that the CPSU has any immunity freeing it from fraternal criticism instilled with a sense of responsibility for the great international cause of Socialism. But what the authors of the theses have come out with has nothing in common with any criticism at all. It is slander hurled against the country and party which for decades has been in the vanguard of the international Communist movement and the world proletariat.

The only explanation for the position taken by the CC of the CPC on the internal problems of the USSR can be found in the following words of the "Letter" of the CC of the CPSU: "The Chinese comrades are opposed to the CPSU policy of

developing Socialist democracy, so forcefully formulated in the decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Party Congresses and the CPSU Programme. It is no mere accident that their lengthy letter does not even mention the development of democracy in conditions of Socialism, in conditions of building Communism."

This seems correct to us, all the more so since the CC of the CPC, with exceptional stubbornness, defends a cause which international Communist opinion has unanimously condemned, "the personality cult."

But the authors of the theses pretend to be deaf and blind. For them the question of "the personality cult" boils down to the question of the authority of leaders. As though anyone within the Communist movement has questioned the principle of the authority of party leaders. One of the most serious experiences of the international Communist movement and the Socialist countries, one which brought us irreparable losses, is dismissed by the authors of the theses with the following: "The party of the proletariat is the headquarters of the proletariat in revolution and struggle. Every proletarian party must practice centralism based upon democracy and establish a strong Marxist-Leninist leadership before it can become an organized and battle-worthy vanguard. To raise the question of 'combating the cult of the individual,' is actually to counterpose the leaders to the masses, undermine the party's unified leadership which is based on democratic centralism, dissipate its fighting strength, and disintegrate its ranks."

Such an approach to this extremely important question can have no other meaning but that the CC of the CPC in essence approves and wishes to impose upon other parties the order, ideology and morality, forms and methods of leadership which spread during the period of the cult of Stalin.

But there was a time when the leadership of the CPC took a completely different position on this question. In the well-known article: "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," published in 1956, the leadership of the CPC stated: "The question of the struggle against the personality cult occupied an important place at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Congress decisively condemned the personality cult which had existed for a long time and which had caused errors in work and had entailed negative consequences in the life of the USSR. By this courageous self-criticism of its own former errors the Communist Party of the Soviet Union demonstrated the highly principled nature of inner party life and the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism."

However, history cannot be turned back. The Communist movement took up this question at one time in order to expose its mechanism, to clear out the consequences of this system, and to create all the guarantees necessary to protect it from all attempts to return to such anti-Leninist methods.

Regardless of the orthodox and revolutionary phraseology with which the document of the CC of the CPC teems, the position taken by it on the personality cult reveals its true political face. Nothing can mislead the international opinion of Communists.

No one is more competent to evaluate the experiences of the period of "personality cult" than the CPSU is. We fully agree with the Soviet comrades when in the "Letter" of the CC of the CPSU, in justifying the measures undertaken to expose the "personality cult," they write: "Everyone knows that our Party did this in order to remove the heavy burden that fettered the powerful forces of the people and thereby accelerate the development of Soviet society. Our Party did this in order to keep pure the Soviet society. Our Party did this in order to keep pure the ideals of Socialism bequeathed

to us by the great Lenin and clear them of the stigma of abuse of personal power and arbitrariness. It did this in order to prevent a recurrence of the tragic events that were a concomitant of the personality cult, to help all fighters for Socialism draw lessons from our experience...

"The atmosphere of fear, suspicion and uncertainty which poisoned the life of the people in the period of the personality cult became a thing of the past. No one can deny that the Soviet people began to live better and enjoy the benefits of Socialism. Ask the worker (and there are millions of them) who moved into a new apartment, ask the pensioner who is well provided for in his old age, the collective farmer who is now well-to-do, ask the thousands upon the thousands of people who suffered unjust repressions in the period of the personality cult and to whom freedom and their good name were restored, and you will know what practical meaning the victory of the Leninist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU has had for the Soviet people.

"Ask those whose fathers and mothers were victims of repression in the period of the personality cult what it meant to have their fathers, mothers and brothers recognized as honest people, and to know that they themselves are not outcasts of our society, but worthy sons and daughters of the Soviet fatherland enjoying equal rights with all."

Evidently the CC of the CPC wants to transfer the relations characteristic of the period of the "personality cult" also to the field of relations between parties and between Socialist states.

We have never concealed the fact that between our parties, on the one hand, and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, on the other, there are differences on a number of ideological problems. These are matters of common knowledge. We take the position, however, that these differences cannot be a cause

for hostility between our states. And we regard as thoroughly wrong the attitude which, owing to the existence of differences in the ideological field between us, negates the Socialist character of the system of Yugoslavia. The character of the system is an objective fact and cannot be negated on the basis of anybody's arbitrary verdict. To proceed in this way means to pay homage to extreme subjectivism, to betray Marxism.

In his day Stalin decreed that Yugoslavia is not a Socialist country. There was a time when the CC of the CPC recognized that this attitude was wrong and regarded Yugoslavia as a Socialist country. Today this same CC of the CPC has again changed its position and on its own part, by decree, has deprived Yugoslavia of the character of a Socialist country. International Communist opinion cannot agree with such behaviour.

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There is no doubt that the CC of the CPC by its views has departed from the standpoint of the international Communist movement, that as a result of its factional and splitting activities it has seriously endangered the unity of action of the system of Socialist states and the international Communist movement. All of the facts known and available to us indicate that the international Communist movement, and especially the CPSU, have resorted to every possibility so as not to come to the present situation, which affords pleasure only to the imperialist. There is no doubt that as a result our common cause has suffered serious harm. We deem it necessary that the leadership of the CPC again reconsider the effects of its behaviour and cease activities aimed against the world Communist movement, against the unity of the Socialist commonwealth, in order, together with us, to march forward towards the triumph of the ideals of peace, democracy, and Socialism.

ANTONI GAŃCZARCZYK
Head of the Organizational Department
of the Katowice Provincial Committee

THE ADVANTAGES OF TEAM WORK*

The Provincial Committee in Katowice is consistently implementing the decisions of last year's (the 8th) Annual Provincial Conference. The organizational activity of the party following the plenum of the Provincial Committee of April 1963 is of particular importance for improving the work of the party committees and organizations, the People's Councils, trade unions and youth organizations, in respect to the implementation of the decisions of the conference on bettering the living and working conditions of the people of Katowice Province.

It was an unusual plenum, taking into consideration the great number of party activists participating in the preparation of the materials for the plenum and particularly the vast programme of activities for improving living and working conditions of the people of Katowice Province. All members of the Provincial Committee as well as a large group of party activists from various fields of economic and social life — in all 290 comrades, grouped in 11 teams — took part in the elaboration of this programme.

The plan of activities, based on the report of the executive of the Provincial Committee arose out of the discussions not only of the above mentioned teams, but also in the workshops

* Article from *Życie Partii* (Party Life), organ of the CC of the PUWP. No. 9, 1963.

and institutions. The majority of the 290 activists participating in the teams had the opportunity to discuss the contents of the report and the plans of the Provincial Committee with their closest co-workers at their places of work. It can therefore be stated that the programme of activity discussed and accepted at the plenum of the Provincial Committee in April, was a product of deep thought and discussion of many hundreds of party members and non-party people.

The activity of the teams formed prior to the plenum did not end with its conclusion. The resolution of the plenum confirmed the personal composition of the teams and obliged them to cooperate in the implementation of the accepted plan. Thus all members and deputy members of the Provincial Committee, members of the Auditing Committee, and of the Provincial Party Control Commission participate in the teams with definite tasks to perform.

Following are the teams set up by the plenum of the Provincial Committee:

— housing and the housing policy
— housing repairs
— communication
— health services and social welfare
— cleanliness, esthetics and sanitation of cities, towns and villages
— after work leisure and recreation
— improvement of work safety and hygiene
— work competition.
— improvement of the work of the state, economic and social apparatus
— youth
— trade unions

The teams assist the Provincial Committee in controlling the realization of the programme of activity by the county

and city party committees, the People's Councils, the trade unions and youth organizations. Some teams, in order to most fully deal with their problems have set up sub-teams consisting of specialists.

A considerable role in the work of the teams in played by the instructors of the organizational department of the Provincial Committee, who function as the secretaries of the teams. They help in convoking meetings, in preparing materials and taking down minutes at these meetings. They also report to the organizational department of the Provincial Committee on the activities of the teams.

Despite the fact that the work of the teams thus far took place during the summer holidays it can be stated that the benefits of their work are already visible.

The team for housing repairs, in addition to its function of control, undertook to make an inventory of the building materials and to increase the allotment of such materials for people making their own repairs.

At one of the meetings, the team heard a report by the head of the Municipal Department of the Presidium of the Provincial People's Council on the progress of repairs in the current year, including capital repairs. In order to improve the work of the construction firms in some of the communities, at the initiative of the teams, a despatching service was established as a coordinating factor. The plans also provide the working out of deadlines for completing the work, including the tidying up of the areas around the repaired buildings.

The activity of the team for health and social welfare is aimed at sustaining the initiatives of the party committees in the counties and towns, and also of the People's Councils, in respect to the full and proper use of the personnel and medical equipment of the health service. For inspection has shown that in many instances there is the possibility to make better use

of the medical equipment and thus to provide better care for the needs of the people.

After an analysis of the work of the factory clinics at the Mechanical Works in the Łabędy smelting plant and in the Rolling Mills in Łabędy, a proposal was adopted to create a unified inter-shop medical clinic. This will ensure better medical care to workers of those enterprises and more rational use of the expensive medical equipment.

The team desires to maintain the initiatives of those factories which make their health centres accessible to the neighbouring population and supports those city and county authorities that through the reclamation and adaptation of suitable buildings increase the number of hospital beds and maternity wards.

The communication team supervised the transportation of children to the summer camps. It concentrates its attention on reducing the unnecessary travel of employees to and from work. It also concerns itself with the improvement of the social conditions of railway workers, with preparation of means of transport and roads for winter use, and with solving the communication problem in mid-town Katowice.

In view of the special conditions of Katowice Province, a big task rests on the team dealing with the organization of after work leisure. This team controls the activities of the People's Council, the trade unions and youth organizations in this field.

The team dealing with cleanliness, esthetics and sanitation conditions of cities, towns and villages also has an important task to perform. This team is devided into three sub-teams: for cleanliness, for the planting of trees and liquidation of wastelands, for the purification of the air and combating water pollution. The team established cooperation with similar com-

mittees active in the city and county committees of the party and has drawn in many specialists from various fields.

The team concerned with the improvement of the work of the state, economic and social apparatus functions through six specialized sub-teams.

All teams already have certain achievements and the benefits deriving from their work will increase as their experience increases and their methods of work as well as the methods of guidance of their work by the Provincial Committee improve.

However, even the most intensive work of the teams will not ensure implementation of the programme of the Provincial Committee without engaging the People's Councils, the trade unions, the youth organizations and the county and city committees of the party. These committees have established similar teams to aid in the implementation of the programme of the Provincial Committee. Only some of the party committees entrusted the above tasks to the specialized commissions which existed previously.

TELEGRAM TO COMRADE BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

DEAR COMRADE DAVIS,

ON YOUR 60th BIRTHDAY WE ARE SENDING YOU SINCEREST GREETINGS. THE MEMBERS OF OUR PARTY KNOW YOU AS A PROMINENT COMMUNIST PARTY WORKER IN THE USA AND A FIGHTER FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION. WE ARE FULLY UNITED WITH YOU IN YOUR UNTIRING FIGHT FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES, AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE DEFENCE OF THE LIFE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND PEACE. PLEASE ACCEPT, DEAR COMRADE, OUR WISHES OF MANY MORE YEARS OF LIFE AND FURTHER FRUITFUL ACTIVITY FOR THE GOOD OF THE WORKING MASSES IN THE JUST CAUSE OF PROGRESS AND PEACE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN POLAND

SEPTEMBER 1963

Aug. 24-Sept. 4 A delegation of Bulgarian chemists headed by Georgi Pavlov, chairman of the Committee for Chemistry and Metallurgy, visited Poland at the invitation of Antoni Radliński, Minister of the Chemical Industry. As a result of talks, a protocol was signed which defined the programme of specialization of the chemical industry of the two countries and the extent of help to be given by the Polish chemical industry to the Bulgarian chemical industry.

Sept. 1 A number of anti-war demonstrations and other events were organized in Poland to mark the 24th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War II.

● E. Wyzner, Chargé d'Affaires of the permanent mission, of the Polish People's Republic at the United Nations, handed a protest, on behalf of the Polish government, to Hernane Tavares de Sa, Deputy Secretary-General of the U.N. in charge of public information, against the distribution of literature by the government of the Federal German Republic on the territory of the United Nations laying claim to regions outside its borders. The Deputy Secretary-General expressed regret for this incident and told the representative of the Polish People's Republic that such things are impermissible and should not take place in the future.

1-7 At the invitation of Adam Rapacki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, Koča Popovic, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, paid an official visit to Poland. During his stay in the country the Secretary of State was received by Władysław Gomułka — First Secretary of the CC of the

PUWP, Aleksander Zawadzki — Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, and Józef Cyrankiewicz — Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Koča Popović had talks with Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki, during which they exchanged opinions on various issues. The communiqué on Mr. Popović's visit to Poland declared that both sides expressed their unanimity of views regarding mayor international problems and welcomed with great satisfaction the signing of the Moscow Agreement on the partial nuclear test ban. The ministers found that Polish-Yugoslav cooperation, especially economic cooperation, is developing successfully. During his visit to Władysław Gomułka and Aleksander Zawadzki, Koča Popović informed them that Yosip Broz Tito, President of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists, gladly accepted the invitation presented to him previously by the First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP and the Chairman of the Council of State to pay an official visit to Poland.

2 On the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the setting up of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Władysław Gomułka — First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, Aleksander Zawadzki — Chairman of the Council of State, and Józef Cyrankiewicz—Chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of congratulations to Ho Chi Minh — Chairman of the Party of Labour of Vietnam and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to Truong Chinh — Chairman of the Permanent Bureau of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to Pham Van Dong — Premier of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

● A new department, of utmost importance for the national economy — for the production of artificial fibres — polychlor vinyl — was put into operation in the Oświęcim chemical works.

2-9 A delegation of the Turkish health service, headed by J. Azizoglu, Minister of Health and Social Welfare, visited Poland at the invitation of the Polish Minister of Health and Social Welfare — J. Sztachelski.

2-11 At the invitation of General J. Bordziłowski, Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, General A. Maunula, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Finland, paid a visit to Poland.

3-6 The chairman of the Peace Council of Nigeria — Peter Ayo Curtis Joseph — visited Po-

land at the invitation of the Polish Peace Committee. The guest had talks with members of the Presidium nad Secretariat of the Polish Peace Committee regarding the exchange of information and ways and means of strengthening cooperation between the peace movement of the two countries.

4-7 David A. Morse, Director General of the International Labour Organization, visited Poland at the invitation of the government of the Polish People's Republic. Mr. Morse was received by Premier Józef Cyrankiewicz and Ignacy Loga-Sowiński — Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and held talks with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Labour and Wages Committee and also acquainted himself with the work of the Advanced Training Centre for Leading Personnel, where ILO experts collaborate with Polish specialists.

5-10 A delegation of the Ministry of Education of the German Democratic Republic, headed by Professor Alfred Lemnitz, Minister of Education, visited Poland at the invitation of the Polish Minister of Education — W. Tułodziecki. The members of the delegation acquainted themselves with the work of the Polish schools and the implementation of the school reform, and also held talks about the broadening of cooperation between the two countries in the field of of education.

6 A meeting to mark "Railwaymen's Day" was held in Warsaw. It was attended by several thousand employees of the Polish State Railways, by representatives of social, political and youth organizations, and by leading Party and state officials.

6-9 Vice-Marshal Omar Dhani — Chief of Staff of the Air Force of the Republic of Indonesia along with a group of officers paid a visit to Poland at the invitation of General Marian Spychalski, Minister of National Defence.

7 A meeting to mark "Electric Power Workers' Day" was held in Poznań with the participation of representatives of the Party and government leadership. The meeting was addressed by Bolesław Jaszczuk, Secretary of the CC of the PUWP. Polish power workers had great achievement to report on their holiday. Generators with a total capacity of 1,000 megawatts will be put into operation this year.

7-13 A farmers' delegation from Sweden, headed by Minister of Agriculture Erik Holmqvist, visited Poland at the invitation of

the Polish Minister of Agriculture, M. Jagielski. The Swedish guests attended the traditional Central Harvest Festival in Warsaw, visited a number of farms and agricultural centres, and had talks with leading officials of the Ministry of Agriculture.

8 The Central Harvest Festival was celebrated in the Tenth Anniversary Stadium in Warsaw. It was attended by over 40,000 representatives of the Polish countryside, by large numbers of Warsaw residents, by representatives of the Party and government leadership, including Władysław Gomułka, Aleksander Zawadzki, Józef Cyrankiewicz, and by representatives of the leadership of fraternal political parties — the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Władysław Gomułka delivered a speech in which he summed up the results of agriculture in the economic year 1962-1963 and outlinend the tasks facing Polish farming.

• The Central Committee of the PUWP sent a telegram of greetings and best wishes to Benjamin J. Davis, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

8-11 Mr. James A. Roberts, Canadian Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, visited Poland at the invitation of Witold Trąmpczyński, Minister of Foreign Trade of the Polish People's Republic. During his stay in Poland Mr. Roberts had talks concerning all aspects of Polish-Canadian trade relations. Agreement was reached on major trade problems during the next few years, including the policy pertaining to purchases of wheat by Poland on credit.

9 On the occasion of the national holiday of the People's Republic of Bulgaria — the 19th anniversary of the liberation of the country — Władysław Gomułka — First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, Aleksander Zawadzki — Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, and Józef Cyrankiewicz — Chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of congratulations to Todor Živkov — First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Dimitri Ganev — Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Bulgaria.

• On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the Korean People's Republic, Aleksander Zawadzki — Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic —

sent a telegram of congratulations to Coy Jen Gen — Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

● Premier Cyrankiewicz received Mr. Cecil H. King, the known British newspaper publisher and president of the "International Publishing Corporation" group, who paid a visit to Poland.

10 The 5th Plenary Session of the General Board of the Polish Journalists' Association took place in Warsaw. It was devoted to a discussion of the tasks facing the press, radio and television as a result of the 13th Plenum of the CC of the PUWP.

11 Trade negotiations between the government delegations of Poland and the Benelux Economic Union were concluded in Warsaw. They led to the drawing up of a three-year trade agreement which bases trade relations between Poland and the Union on the most-favoured-nation clause and provides for a further marked increase in trade.

11-15 Mr. C. G. Kahama, Minister of Trade and Industry of the Republic of Tanganyika, visited Poland and discussed a number of problems connected with the implementation of the trade agreement between the two countries signed this year, and particulary the delivery of capital goods. During his stay in Poland Mr. Kahama was received by Deputy-Premier Eugeniusz Szyr.

12-20 The 52nd Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, held in Belgrade, was attended by a Polish delegation which was headed by J. K. Wende, Deputy Speaker of the Seym. The Polish delegation took the initiative in proposing a resolution, addressed to all the parliaments of the world, calling for the quickest possible ratification of the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty.

13-15 The 9th General Congress of Polish Historians, attended by 600 historians in various fields and delegations of historians and individuals from the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Great Britain. The Congress reviewed the achievements of Polish historians, primarily regarding research on the history of People's Poland, and discussed the future tasks in connection with the recommendations of the 13th Plenum of the CC of the PUWP. The Congress was addressed by Witold Jarosiński, Secretary of the CC of the PUWP.

14-16 The Italian Minister of Foreing Trade, Giuseppe Trabucchi, visited Poland at the invitation of W. Trąmpczyński, the Polisch Minister of Foreing Trade. Mr. Trabucchi had talks in the Ministry of Foreign Trade about the further development of trade between Poland and Italy, and visited Cracow and the Lenin Steel Works. He was received by Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

14-24 A delegation of the Ministry of Health of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by Mome Marković, Secretary of State for Health, paid a return visit to Poland at the invitation of J. Sztachelski, the Polish Minister of Health and Social Welfare. The purpose of the visit was to enable the delegation to acquaint itself with the organization and activity of the Polish health service and to establish closer medical cooperation between the two countries. The chairman of the delegation, M. Marković, was received by Premier Józef Cyrankiewicz.

15 Departure for New York of the Polish delegation to the 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. The delegation was led by Józef Winiewicz, Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

16-18 The Polish-Czechoslovak Mixed Commission for Cooperation in the Tractor Industry met in Warsaw. The meeting discussed the divisions of production between the tractor and agricultural machinery industries of the two countries, etc.

16-20 A number of Polish warships paid a courtesy visit to Copenhagen.

17 A meeting devoted to a discussion of possibilities to lessen the effects of the drought and to make better use of the production reserves in agriculture was held in the offices of the CC of the PUWP. The meeting was attended by Edward Ochab member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the PUWP.

17-22 W. Trąmpczyński, Minister of Foreign Trade, paid a visit to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Mr. Trąmpczyński held preliminary talks with the Ministers of Foreign Trade of the two countries regarding the exchange of goods with Poland. These talks were to precede negotiations by Polish government delegations with representatives of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia concerning trade during the coming year. The Polish Foreign Trade Minister visited the International Fairs in Brno and Zagreb.

18 Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State, sent a telegram of congratulations to Ahmed Ben Bella, President of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, on the occasion of his election to this post.

Sept. 18-Oct. 4 A trade delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, headed by Deputy-Minister of Foreign Trade Dzandoginian Ochir, visited Poland. The delegation held talks regarding Polish-Mongolian trade in 1964. As a result of the negotiations a trade and payments protocol for 1964 was signed between Poland and the Mongolian People's Republic.

19 The Presidium of the Polish Peace Committee sent a telegram to the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People expressing heartfelt sympathy for the families of the six Negro children who died as victims of racist attacks in Birmingham and solidarizing itself with the consistent and heroic struggle of the Negro population for equal rights.

19-26 A financial and trade delegation of the Republic of Indonesia, led by Dr. Sumarno, Minister for Central Bank Affairs and Governor of the Bank of Indonesia, visited Poland at the invitation of the government of the Polish People's Republic. During their stay in Poland the members of the delegation had talks with representatives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Finance Ministry and the Polish National Bank on the subject of development of trade and economic relations between Poland and Indonesia. Dr. Sumarno was received by Aleksander Zawadzki. Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic.

21-30 "Warsaw Autumn," a festival of contemporary music, was held in Warsaw. Attended by guests from 23 countries, the festival featured contemporary music.

Sept. 23-Oct. 2 At the invitation of the Seym of the Polish People's Republic a delegation of the Great National Assembly of the Rumanian People's Republic. led by Anton Moisescu, Deputy-Chairman of the parliament and member of the CC of the Rumanian Workers' Party, visited Poland. The members of the delegation acquainted themselves with the work of the Polish parliament and its committees and toured the country.

24-27 Paul Prebisch, Secretary General of the world conference for trade and economic development prepared under the auspices of the United Nations, visit-

ed Warsaw at the invitation of the Polish government. Mr. Prebisch exchanged views with representatives of the Polish government regarding preparations for this important international conference was received by Premier Józef Cyrankiewicz and paid a visit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs — Adam Rapacki.

25 Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a telegram of hearty congratulations and greetings to Josef Lenart, Chairman of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the occasion of his election to this post.

25-28 An economic delegation of the Republic of Congo (Leopoldville), headed by Rudolph Yav, Minister of Foreign Trade, visited Poland. The members of the delegation had talks on the broadening of trade and economic relations between the two countries, as a result of which a Polish-Congolese communiqué was signed. The delegation and Polish representatives discussed and accepted a trade agreement to be signed after ratification by the governments of the two countries.

25-30 A delegation of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party (SED) and the goverment of the German Democratic Republic, headed by Walter Ulbricht — First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, and Bruno Lauschner — Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SED, paid a return friendship visit to Poland at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Government of the Polish People's Republic. During their stay in Poland the members of the delegation visited Warsaw as well as a number of industrial and agricultural centres in the provinces of Warsaw, Cracow, Katowice, Wrocław and Gdańsk, and acquainted themselves with the achievements of the Polish working people in building Socialism. Leading representatives of the Polish United Workers' Party and the government of the Polish People's Republic, including Władysław Gomułka, Aleksander Zawadzki and Józef Cyrankiewicz, met with the Party and Government delegation of the German Democratic Republic, in the course of which a useful exchange of views on key problems of international policy and the international Workers' movement took place. In addition, discussions were held on a number of problems regarding the further broadening of cooperation between

the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic. The talks showed a full unanimity of views on the part of the two sides on all issues discussed. The warm welcome given to the delegation by the Polish people provided further proof of the solidarity and friendship uniting Poland and the German Democratic Republic. A joint communiqué was signed at the conclusion of the visit.

27-30 A delegation of six members of the Federation of Unions of Participants in the War of Liberation of Yugoslavia, headed by Zaran Polić, Vice-President of the Federation and Secretary of State for the Budget and Administration, paid a visit to Poland. The Yugoslav delegation came to Poland in connection with the opening of the permanent Yugoslav exhibition at the State Museum in Oświęcim (Auschwitz).

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